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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

ARRESTS BLOCK 180 FROM SITTING FOR EXAM

A total of 180 *tawjihi* (matriculation exam) candidates were prevented from taking final exams, which started June 19, because of arrests. Families of the students complained, and demanded unsuccessfully, that their children be allowed to retake the exams.

Reliable sources in Jenin said that during the 24 hours preceding the start of the exam, seven students, including two girls, were arrested. Six students were taken on the first day of the exam and an unknown number on following days. Reliable sources estimate that 60 students from Nablus, Tulkarm, and Jenin were prevented from taking the tests.

In the Ramallah district, according to official education department figures, 21 students were arrested, on June 17. Many of those students were detained after being summoned to the military compound. Other students were arrested at night from their homes.

In Hebron, official sources said the number of students abducted shortly before test time was 20. They all were detained in the same manner. Detention of students hours before the start of the examination was described by relatives as 'aiming at undermining the future of students'. Dr. Mohammad Wahaidi, an al-Bireh veterinarian, accused the Israeli authorities of taking revenge on students. He called on the examination board to allow students who were detained to be allowed retakes.

Ibrahim Suleiman, director of the Ramallah department of education, said that he tried to mediate the release of students, but did not succeed. He also said that it was not possible for students to make up the exams.

An official at the Tulkarm education department, who preferred not to be identified by name, said that it is within the authority of the examination board, which consists of the education department heads in the seven West Bank districts, and the Israeli officer in charge of education, to decide whether to allow students to retake the test. The head of the examination board was unavailable for comment.

The *tawjihi* matriculation exams are government-supervised tests for students who finish the third secondary class. Passing this test paves the way for entry into local and Arab universities. For the 1982/1983 scholastic year, 13,871 students sat for the examination. However, missing exams in the compulsory section — for instance because of detention — means the student must retake the whole set. The exam is annual.

Balata Camp, Nablus

Destruction of Camps On Israeli Agenda

Mordechai Ben Porat, an Israeli minister without portfolio and the head of the ministerial committee on refugee affairs, announced June 27 a recommendation to the cabinet demanding the implementation of an immediate comprehensive programme for the "rehabilitation of the refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip".

According to official reports, the committee plans to transfer the refugees to new buildings which will be constructed near the present camps. Smaller camps will be dismantled and their populations put into West Bank villages and towns. Israeli TV reported June 27 that there is an Israeli plan to destroy the Palestinian camps.

Refugee camp residents reiterated their rejection of the Israeli plans. They have long opposed such moves which they consider an attempt to liquidate the Palestinian cause. Usama Odeh, a lawyer from Dheisheh camp, told *Al Fajr* that the establishment of the refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Syria and Lebanon is according to international law, and is temporary until the whole Palestinian question is settled and the refugees return to the villages and towns from which they were expelled in 1948.

"The residents of Dheisheh camp and all the refugees in the West Bank and Gaza Strip believe that the problem of the Palestinian people is not a problem of refugees, but of people expelled from their land," he said.

Usama Odeh, Hassan Abd al-Jawad, a journalist from the camp and Jawdat Mana, a member of the UNRWA youth centre administration, told *Al Fajr* that since the beginning of the occupation in 1967 there have been Israeli plans to resettle refugees. They stated that a few months ago Ben Porat visited Dheisheh and spoke of "establishing villas for the refugees." His overtures were reportedly rejected. . . . . Camp residents are suspicious of any UNRWA and Israeli attempt to tamper with their status. Usama Odeh asked rhetorically, "Why is Ben Porat committed to solve the Palestinian cause while at the same time he is a minister in an Israeli government which hates the Palestinian people and aims at the liquidation of the cause of the Palestinians?" Hassan Abdel Jawad told *Al Fajr* that the renovation and rehabilitation of the refugee camps has gone on constantly since their establishment after 1948. "The Palestinian camp residents have the ability to renovate and improve their conditions."

Jawdat Mana stressed that the Palestinian camp is the "symbol of the Palestinian cause which will remain alive until a just, durable and comprehensive settlement is reached and a Palestinian state is established."

The 27 camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip house a population of between 300,000 and 500,000.

FRIDAY PRAYERS SEE DEMANDS FOR UNITY IN PLO

There were demonstrations calling for unity in the PLO after Friday prayers, June 24, in both Nablus and Jerusalem.

In Jerusalem several hundred protestors marched in the al-Aqsa compound, raised Palestinian flags and chanted slogans echoing the main points of the day's sermon.

Ikrema Sabri, the head of the *waqf* preaching department, had appealed for an end to internal conflicts in the Beqa'a so that "we do not give the enemies the opportunity to benefit from it." He denounced Arab countries which support and maintain divisions in the Palestinian people.

Sabri emphasised treasons planned by Arab countries to "divide and dissipate" the Palestinian people. "The massacres committed against the Palestinian people are clear examples of this treason," he said.

In Nablus mosques, preachers demanded that Palestinians outside refrain from using military means to settle conflicts among the Palestinians. The supreme Islamic council in Jerusalem issued a statement, June 23, distributed in the mosques. The statements called on the Palestinians to "use logic in order to overcome the present conflict and maintain PLO unity".

DHEISHANS PETITION REMOVAL OF BARRIERS

Twenty residents of Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem, filed a complaint to the High Court June 27 demanding the removal of cement barriers sealing the camp. The petitioners, who include representatives of several professions, local business people and intellectuals, also called for an end to "provocations against Palestinian residents". They asked the Israeli legal advisor to visit the camp of 6000 (according to official UNRWA figures) refugees to see conditions for himself.

Most recently Israeli authorities closed 24 shops on the camp's main street for 25 days between June 2 and 26. The complaint stated that scores of families and their children suffered from food shortages because of it.

Since the last entrance to the camp was sealed at the beginning of the month, children have had to walk along the main road to their school. The other six entrances were sealed over the past three years.

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PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP SEEKS SOLUTION TO BEQA'A CRISIS

The violent clashes between Fatah fighters, this week, ended with rebel leader Abu Musa and his supporters in control of six bases in the eastern Beqa'a. Palestinian sources said that opposition forces controlled the roads between Saad Nayel and Tha'alabaiyeh. Fatah fighters loyal to PLO leader Yasir Arafat are still holding their other positions while their leaders along with PLO leaders are working on a solution to the crisis.

As reports of fighting came in from the Beqa'a, Palestinian, Arab and international efforts to settle the conflict between Syria and the PLO leader Yasir Arafat continued.

After the clashes of Tuesday, Abu Jihad (Khalil Wazir), deputy commander of Fatah forces, stated in Tripoli that he and Yasir Arafat would welcome the return of the opposition components to the Fatah mainstream. Abu Jihad told *Agence France Presse* that he and Arafat hope to solve the problem with Syria through diplomatic efforts.

Political sources in Damascus affirmed that the visit of the Algerian foreign minister to the Syrian capital, June 25, and the meeting between Hafez al-Assad and the General Secretary of the PFLP, George Habash as well as the visit of Habib al-Shati, the general secretary of the Islamic ConferenceOrganisation, are helping form an agreement, which would result in Arafat being asked to visit Damascus. Cuba and the Soviet Union are also participating in the efforts.

Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), who is visiting Cuba, said in Havana that Fatah wants to preserve good relations with Syria. Khalaf added that the PLO supports the formation of a joint front between Syria, the PLO and the Lebanese national movement.

Clashes erupted on Tuesday, June 28, when supporters of Abu Musa, attacked most Fatah bases in the Beqa'a. Reports said that 15 fighters died and 20 were injured. The Palestinian News Agency, WAFA, reported that the Syrian forces beseiged and offered assistance to the forces of the opposition.

Yasir Arafat returned to Tunisia from Algeria, June 28. In Algeria he discussed the situation in the Beqa'a with Algerian premier Shadli Ben Jadid. The Palestinian leadership and PLO executive committee convenes in Tunis, July 1, to discuss the situation.

Israeli army amasses in the Beqa'a Valley

Villages Singled Out for Israeli, Phalangist Attack

Israeli soldiers shot dead one man and wounded six others in the south Lebanon village of Kufr Sir, near Nabatiyeh, June 29. Dozens were arrested following clashes between troops and protestors against attempts to mount a search.

Meanwhile, Israeli reports said that four Israeli soldiers were wounded a series of attacks in the south and east.

Clashes between the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party militias and the Phalangists erupted again, this week, after a period of relative quiet.

The Lebanese resident was killed as Israeli soldiers were sealing off entrances to Kufr Sir and starting house-to-house searches. Paris-based Monte Carlo Radio said that hundreds of people gathered in the streets trying to question soldiers on the purpose of their visit. The army, apparently nervous because of the increase in attacks against them recently, opened fire on the crowd killing the youth.

The incident reflects an increased campaign on the part of the Israeli army to curb the war of attrition in the south. Despite the internal dispute within Fatah, the largest faction within the PLO, several attacks were carried out against Israelis recently.

Israeli and Palestinian gunners swapped shells and rockets across the cease fire lines in the Beqa'a valley, for two hours, June 27. Two Israeli soldiers were wounded and evacuated to hospital by helicopter. According to Israeli officers, quoted in *The Jerusalem Post*, PLO fighters used mortar and katyushas. Giving details of the incident, an Israeli military spokesman said that an Israeli position at the foot of Jabal al-Baroukh came under fire and they returned it using big guns and tanks.

One day earlier an Israeli military convoy was attacked with hand grenades, near Sidon. Two soldiers were wounded, the Israeli military spokesman reported. The British news agency Reuters, said that 20 Lebanese were rounded-up after a full-scale search of the area involving helicopters and squads of infantry. Residents of Tyre report that "at least 20" local Palestinians and Lebanese were arrested.

Earlier in the week there were four attacks. On Friday afternoon, June 24, two shells were fired at an Israeli position in the Amik area. In the evening of the same day Israelis manning a check-post near the Zaharani River, south of Sidon, came under rocket propelled grenade fire. The Israeli spokesman did notsay whether there were casualties or not.

At the same time a convoy travelling near Jezzine came under light arms fire. A position near Kamed al-Louz was attacked the same evening.

Livia Rokach adds: Northeast Beirut, Junieh and the Maronite neighbourhoods of Sin al-Fil, Mekalles and Jisr al-Basha were heavily bombed on the night of Monday, June 27, as fighting between PSP and Phalangist militias reached new heights. The clashes are reported to have started when Phalangists attacked a Druze village. They had also tried to occupy a hill between Aley and Bhamdoun, between Israeli and Druze positions. They had been forced off it several months ago. According to reports from the area during the course of the fighting the Phalangists hit the Druze village of Beysour over 200 times.

According to official Lebanese figures 412 people have been killed in the fighting between Phalangists and Druze which started on June 25, 1982, when the rightists tried to move into new positions behind the Israeli tanks. The figures, which are probably low, report 582 wounded and 695 people either hostages or missing.

There havebeen reports that the Phalangists have been urged recently to increase their attacks in the area to take some of the pressure off the occupying troops. There have been reports of punitive raids against villages in the Shouf region by occupation troops in their search for LNRM sympathisers and activists. On June 13, two soldiers were killed in the vicinity of Barja. Since then, villagers say, they have been subject to repeated sieges, round-ups, food blockades, searches, arrests and the destruction of crops.

Conference Issues Calls For Unity, Support For Arafat

Over 3000 Palestinian residents and representatives of local institutions met at al-Aqsa Mosque, June 26, in a show of support for Yasir Arafat as leader of the PLO and its major faction, Fatah. Arafat is currently facing opposition to recent political and military decisions from within Fatah. Syria expelled him last week after he accused the Syrian government of aiding the Fatah rebels.

Those in attendance issued a statement which asserted that the fighting in the Beqa'a within Fatah aims "to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and Arafat's legitimate leadership, and serve the schemes of the enemy."

Several prominent speakers stressed that unity in the Palestinian revolution must be maintained, as well as the independence of Palestinian decision-making, and called on settling the disputes among the Palestinians. "The PLO refused to interfere in the internal affairs of the Arab regimes and therefore expects that the Arab countries will not interfere in the affairs of the Palestinian revolution," it read. It also affirmed the right of the Palestinian people to work on all Arab land. The statement of the conference attendants denounced all types of interferences in the affairs of the Palestinian revolution, attempts to contain it, to impose tutorship, or to pressure it.

Participants called to the Arab people and international opinion to show a clear attitude to the "conspiracy against the Palestinian people, and to respect the independence of the PLO." They also appealed to the rebels in the Beqa'a not to resort to guns as a way of solving internal conflicts.

"Do not give the enemies the opportunity to break the Palestinian revolution. Counter the attempts to interfere in the affairs of the Palestinian revolution by respecting the channels of the Palestinian revolution and supporting the Palestinian leadership headed by Yasir Arafat. Do not let history record that you broke the unity of the Palestinian revolution and people. History forgives no one and our people read history well," a statement issued later said.

KILLINGS TRIGGER BURJ AL-SHEMALI DEMONSTRATIONS

The inhabitants of Burj al-Shemali refugee camp near Tyre demonstrated on June 19, following the killing of two Palestinian women, Fatima Za'arura and Husna Taha, by armed mercenaries of the occupation forces of separatist Saad Haddad and Abu Arz (Guardian of the Cedars) militias. A delegation of demonstrators visited the Lebenese prefect of Tyre, handing him a demand by the population that the protection of the camp be entrusted to Lebanese army and UNIFIL units.

The harassment of Palestinians continued last week in the Sidon area, where a bomb was exploded in front of the home of former Ansar detainee Assad Kaush, at the entrance of Mieh Mieh camp. In the explosion, an old woman of the Kaush family was killed, and seven other relatives were wounded. Two homes were destroyed.

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PRO-JORDANIAN FIGURES MEET ISRAELI "CIVIL ADMINISTRATOR"

More than 30 Ramallah big businessmen and pro-Jordanian figures met secretly with Israeli 'civil administration' head Shlomo Elia for two hours June 21 at the military-occupied municipal building and discussed economic conditions in the city. The Israeli official reportedly promised to study specific requests submitted by the Ramallans. The meeting, which was widely reported in the local press, was arranged on an initiative from a member of the group. Among the prominent among those who attended the meeting were Nadim Zaru, a former mayor of the city who was recently allowed to return to the West Bank after nearly ten years of exile in Jordan, and holding a Jordanian ministerial post, lawyers Aziz and Fouad Shehadeh, Antoine Silvana, owner of the Silvana chocolate factory, Abu Wajeeh Tarifi, owner of a stone cutting and contracting company, Alfred Kishek, owner of a jewelry store and money exchange, and other lesser known business figures. None of the nine members of the Ramallah municipal council, which has been on strike for one year, was consulted or invited to the meeting.

The attendees insist that the meeting was nonpolitical, but was triggerred by the need to find a site for a new graveyard. Alfred Kishek said that the participants demanded that the authorities lift a restriction on a land plot south of the city which had been set aside by the elected council. Municipal members say that the plot, nearly 25 dunums, was closed for construction by the Israeli authorities. Antoine Silvana said that the group also requested that the Israeli official allow the reopening of several houses in Ramallah, which were sealed off in the early seventies.

Much of the discussion was devoted to the group's demand to "either restore the elected mayor, Karim Khalaf, or allow new municipal elections." Two figures said that Aziz Shehadeh and Nadmi Zaru led the discussion of the municipality's status.

The Israeli 'civil administration' head raised the issue of appointing a local committee to administer municipal affairs. None of those in attendance accepted his view, and insisted on their original demand. "Again, he promised to study it," the source continued.

A member of the striking municipal council, who did not want his name published, said that the Israeli authorities have been trying to establish such a committee ever since Mayor Khalaf was sacked last year, but found no one willing to take Khalaf's place. The proposal, said the council member, was backed up by several summons to the military compound to discuss the issue. Political candidates for the proposed committee are refusing to take such a step because they fear that they will be publicly isolated in the strongly nationalist town.

Current moves on the part of pro-Jordanian elements are being carried out in other cities as well, under the patronage of big businessmen. All Ramallah merchants agree that during the past year, business revenues have witnessed a dramatic decline, while taxes substantially increased. Big business owners, apparently, believe that economic condititons would improve if a better relationship was worked out between locals and the Israeli military.

Observers see the meeting as a tasting of the waters. "If the response was light, they would become encouraged to take a more drastic step, possibly agreeing to participate in an Israeli-proposed solution" he said.

Last month, pro-Jordanian elements in Nablus were involved in a more open move, when the city's Chamber of Commerce called for "new elections." The move, however, was aborted after several public institutions refused to join in the meeting.

Bus Companies Complain Against Closure of Garage

The Arab bus companies and the municipality of Hebron filed a complaint, June 26, in the High Court in Jerusalem against the military authorities' closure of the public transport garage area in the centre of the city for one month. Since the area was closed Israeli police have issued 65 tickets against buses, now forced to operate on crowded side streets.

The area was put under curfew for two days, June 16 and 17, after allegations that a bomb was thrown at Israeli settlers now occupying the Usama Ben Munqeth School. The military governor told the Arab National Bus Company director the next day that the 40 company vehicles and smaller village operators cannot park inside the bus station for one month. The military governor said the ban was enforced for "security reasons." No written order was issued.

Fawaz Qawasmi, the director of the Arab National Bus Company, which is the largest in the area, Ahmad Awaiwi, chairman of the chamber of commerce, other directors of bus offices and gold merchants who operate in the area were summoned to the military governorate where they were notified about the intention of the military authorities to close the garage area, with eventual confiscation a possibility.

Ra'eq Abd al-Halim Ebeido, assistant director of the Arab Bus National Company, told *Al Fajr* that Israeli authorities claim the five-dunum garage area is Jewish property. It adjoins the Dabboya building and Usama Ben Munqeth School, both of which are occupied by settlers. The companies lease the garage space on a 99-year contract from the municipality of Hebron.

Ebeido told *Al Fajr* that the Hebron municipality, the Tamimi family and the Custodian of Absentee Property own the garage. Tamimi and the municipality of Hebron have Turkish, British, Jordanian and Palestinian documents of ownership.

Three months ago the bus companies started constructing a second terminus between the garage and Usama Ben Munqeth. The acting military governor stopped construction. At the same time the governorate gave the go ahead for the companies to renovate the inside of the garage at a cost of JD10,000.

"Israeli authorities did not stop us because they want to benefit from the construction themselves," Ebeido told *Al Fajr*.

The national institutions in Hebron, including the municipality, sent a telegramme June 22 to Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations, requesting his intervention to open the bus station in Hebron.

MELON PRICE-DROP FOLLOWS IMPORT RESTRICTIONS

Watermelon farmers from the Jenin area, the largest producing district in the West Bank, complained, June 25, that they have suffered huge losses as a result of the sharp drop in melon prices. The price decline coincides with Jordanian restrictions on the amounts they would import.

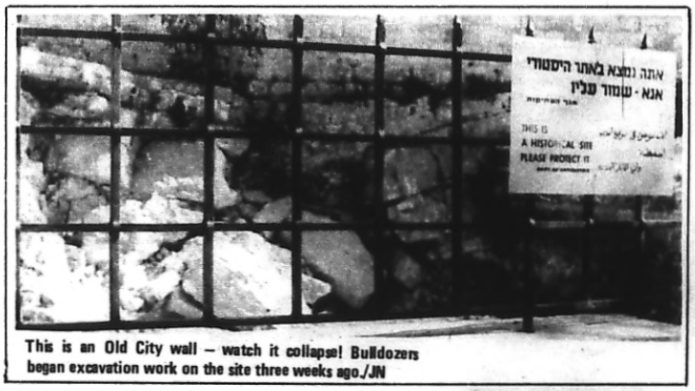
Since the start of the season, June 15, prices have declined by more than 50 percent. Farmers from the district say that at the start of the export season, prices averaged JD150 per ton. Today, one ton of watermelons is selling for JD80. Farmers say that the decline in watermelon prices is due to higher productivity. According to farmers' estimates, one dunum of irrigated plants produces between three to four tons of fruit.

Alongside the decline in price, costs of shipping and production have more than doubled. Well informed sources in Jenin said that costs had risen from JD180 per shipment to JD450. After the Jordanian government announced that imports from the West Bank are only allowed until the beginning of July, farmers were compelled to compete among themselves, to try to export as much as possible before the deadline. Some farmers say that they wait at the Allenby Bridge, and try to convince truck drivers to carry their products to Jordan. Presently, most of the 12 trucks which have licenses to export products across the bridges are working in the Jenin district.

Jenin farmers say that they are permitted to export one-half of their crop. An agriculture department official evaluates the products of every farmer, registers the amount on special forms, and tells the farmer the number of tons he is allowed to export.

The method of growing melons under plastic was introduced to the West Bank afer 1967, borrowed from Israeli farmers. This type of early production is used for commercial purposes. Jenin farmers remain proud of the district's specialty, which is a late crop distinquished by its extra sweetness, and big white seeds which are also commercially consumed. Exports of this crop are expected to start in mid-July, and the crop is expected to be better than last year.

Jenin farmers have issued calls to Arab leaders to help West Bank farmers market their products. Palestinian agricultural products are restricted in Israel and are not permitted to compete on Israeli markets abroad.



This is an Old City wall – watch it collapse! Bulldozers began excavation work on the site three weeks ago./JN

Idhna Water Neglected

Residents from the village of Idhna, Hebron district, complained, June 25, that they have not had running water for more than five months. The lack of water, employees of the West Bank military governorate water department say, is caused by a broken water pipe.

During the drought, Idhna village council has contacted the water department several times and demanded that they restore water supplies. Residents, however, say that each time water department officials promised to repair the pipes nothing was done. The villagers decided to go public after they became fed up with false promises. Even though they offered to help in digging up the broken water pipes in order to fix them, no employee from the water department has showed up to execute repairs. Taher Naser al-Din, head of the water department, declined to give any explanation to the water shut off, stating that he was not authorised to talk to the press. He said that the Israeli water affairs officer is the only one authorised to speak.

Mohammad Ahmad Farajallah, who collects water fees from village residents, said that the village council continues to pay the bills they recieve, despite the shut off. Presently, all 12,000 village residents depend on water supplies they had stored during the winter season in wells and cysterns. Many of those who do not have stores buy water by the tankful from Hebron. (Translation: Al Fajr, June 26)

Norwegians Meet Palestinian Counterparts

A delegation of Norwegian workers, members of the Norwegian Labour Federation, visited the occupied territories May 29 to June 5. The visitors who were invited by Jerusalem unions, visited a number of Palestinian institutions and spoke to West Bank and Gaza leaders about the suffering of the Palestinian people in general and the exploitation of workers in particular. At the end of the week-long visit the delegation issued a joint statement with their Palestinian counterparts in which they confirmed the "necessity to strengthen cooperation and friendship between the workers movement in the occupied territories and the Norwegian workers union."

DFLP, PFLP ANNOUNCE JOINT LEADERSHIP

The recently announced decision to create a unified political and military command of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) is part of a larger unification process, the ultimate aim of which is the creation of a unified party of the Palestinian working class. Initial steps on the road to unity were taken last December in Aden at a summit of the leaderships of the two organisations, but its announcement was brought forward in view of the present crisis in the ranks of Fatah. This crisis could give the false image of the Palestinian national movement as being in the process of disintegration, a senior spokesman of the DFLP told me today in an exclusive interview.

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent
June 29

Q: What is the meaning of the announcement of the creation of a unified political command in this particular moment in the life of the Palestinian National Movement?

A: The two organisations announced their decision to proceed towards a larger harmonisation of the action on these levels in the framework of a process in which the constitution of a unified command is the first step. The decision to start this process was taken in Aden last December, during a meeting between George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh, at which Ali Nasser Mohammad, the president of South Yemen, was also present. The process had already been started but the official announcement was advanced due to the crisis recently opened in the ranks of Fatah. What is happening in Fatah represents an element of demoralisation which is being shrewdly exploited by reactionaries in a way which will transform it into a demobilisation lever, creating a widespread but false image of an alleged disintegration of the resistance movement. Our announcement is intended, on the other hand, to produce a reinforced image of the resistance. It is highly significant in this respect that one of the first messages of greeting and encouragement that we received following the announcement was sent by (PLO Chairman) Yasir Arafat.

Clearly, in addition, the unification process to which the two organisations have committed themselves is in itself an attractive alternative to a situation of demoralisation. This will undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of the Palestinian resistance and its capacity to resist against any outside attempts to manipulate it.

Q: What are the next steps going to be and what are the main problems to be resolved before they can be accomplished?

A: As we stated at the beginning, the creation of a unified command is the first step towards full unity. For the moment, the PFLP and the DFLP have conserved their separate and autonomous structures, but the second phase will see the unification of the military forces and the mass organisations on all levels (women, youth, educational, cultural, professional, workers unions etc.) until a full fusion in the organisational sense has been reached. Ultimately, these unified structures will have to constitute the basis for the creation of a unified party of the Palestinian working class.

In recent years there has been an increasing rapprochement between the two organisations. Following an intense and prolonged effort of political education and formation, George Habash succeeded in overcoming the opposition to the unification which existed in certain quarters of his organisation. We all now believe that the problems which may still exist will be resolved in the best possible way, as they were solved in Cuba, in South Yemen, and as they are being solved at present in El Salvador. As in these cases, it is probable that our unification will open the way for smaller left-wing Palestinian groups and organisations to join in, towards the achievement of the aforementioned aim.

The establishment of a joint political and military leadership for the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the two largest factions in the PLO after Fatah, was announced at a joint session of the two organisations' politbureau in Damascus, June 26.

The move came after members of the politbureau, including the two general secretaries, George Habash of the PFLP and Nayef Hawatmeh of the DFLP, discussed present political issues and bilateral relations between the two Marxist-Leninist groups. The joint political and military leadership will be responsible for the political stands of the two fronts and for their armed forces. "Both fronts have the same ideological base," the statement said. They said it was a step towards a wider unity of the two fronts.

Habash and Hawatmeh both pointed out that this latest development does not "constitute a counterforce within the PLO but it is an act of unification which has an objective reality and conditions." They said they wanted to "reinforce the unity of the PLO and its legitimate institutions, ...

. . . . . .

Political coordination between the PFLP and the DFLP was intensified on the eve of the last PNC conference held in Algiers in February, and continued after it.

Israeli soldiers check the IDs of young men on their way to noon prayers on the second Friday of Ramadan./JN

AL FAJR Journalist Arrested

Talal Abu Afifeh, the Jerusalem correspondent for *Al Fajr* Arabic daily was arrested, June 26. Abu Afifeh was remanded for 15 days at a session of the Jerusalem magistrate court 48 hours later. His lawyers have not been permitted to talk to him.

He was previously detained two years ago and charged with participating in "illegal demonstration" after being arrested while covering a demonstration to protest conditions in Nafha prison.

IFJ Head Meets West Bank Journalists

JERUSALEM – Kenneth Ashton, general secretary of the British National Union of Journalists and current president of the International Federation of Journalists, the international body representing western journalists unions, held talks, June 27 and 28, with Akram Haniyeh, head of the West Bank Arab Journalists Association, and Hanna Siniora, editor of *Al Fajr*.

Haniyeh and Siniora gave Ashton, who is here on a fact-finding mission, a full report on the obstacles and difficulties they encounter as newspaper workers in the West Bank. They stressed Israel's "relentless campaign of harassment of Arab journalists" and "strict and discriminatory censorship."

The two Palestinians appealed for greater support from the IFJ, and for it to take a deeper interest in conditions here, which they termed "extremely obstructionist and oppressive."

Allegations of Torture at Fara'a

Lawyer Felicia Langer filed a complaint against the administration in Fara'a detention camp near Jenin, June 21, with the legal advisor in Jerusalem after briefing them on the inhuman practises of the Israeli authorities in Fara'a against the Palestinian detainees.

"Langer met three Palestinian prisoners in Fara'a who told her that the administration of the prison shave the heads of the prisoners when they reach the prison under the pretext that they want to clean them. The prisoners where forced to put their hands behind their backs whenever they leave their cells and if a guard enters their cells, they have to stand with their hands behind their backs.

"On June 15, the guards of the prison found a piece of metal in one cell. The 50 detainees there denied they owned it. However, they were punished by being forced to stand for 90 minutes with their hands in the air.

"No books or newspapers are availale in the prison and Fara'a jail does not have canteen." (Translation, Al Ittihad, June 26)

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 165, July 1, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to the censor	26
Number of articles totally censored out	8
Number of articles lost	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	3
Number of articles passed	14

The Dawn

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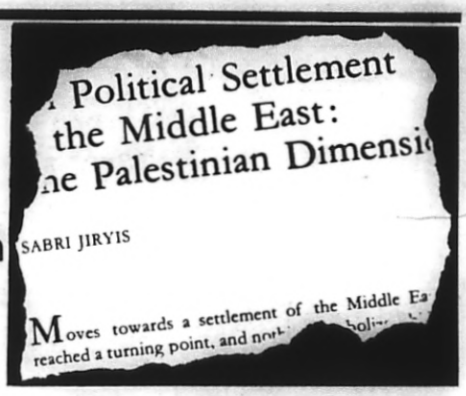
FOR REASONS BEYOND OUR CONTROL, OUR EDITORIAL DOES NOT APPEAR THIS WEEK.

Palestinian Research Centre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SABRI JIRYIS
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reached a turning point, and nor

BOMBED, RAIDED, NOW CLOSED

by Livia Rokach Our Rome Correspondent

The Palestinian Research Centre in Beirut was ordered closed by the Lebanese authorities as of June 22. The centre's director, well-known jurist and writer Sabri Jiryis, and the PLO liaison officer to the Lebanese government, Yousef Rajab, were arrested by the Lebanese security service. They are accused by Lebanese military prosecutor Assad Germanos of keeping explosives in the Centre and of having links with a car bomb explosion near the Commodore Hotel in Hamra, West Beirut, in which two of the Centre's guards were killed, June 19.

The Lebanese police announced that the diplomatic immunity for Jiryis and Rajab — both hold diplomatic passports — has been "suspended". Under these accusations the two could be condemned to death.

Western diplomats and observers in Beirut unanimously agree that this affair is nothing but a frame-up, carefully planned by the Gemayel regime's Phalangist security services, to satisfy Israel's demands of eliminating the remaining official or semi-official PLO presence in the Lebanese capital.

The Research Centre has been a target of harassment since September 1982, when Sharon's troops occupied and looted the building in their sweep into West Beirut. Most of the Palestinian national archives were stolen (some of them have turned up in Israeli defence ministry libraries in Israel — ed.) and rare historical documents, as well as artistic objects and papers were destroyed. The attack on the Centre and the looting of the archives were harshly condemned in resolutions by the UN General Assembly, UNESCO and other international organisations.

Despite the attacks on the Research Centre, the staff continued their work, replaced many of the rare books and documents which were stolen and made of the Centre the only Palestinian "home" in Beirut. Here, Palestinian officials risked their lives to maintain contacts with the remaining, endangered civilian population, with intellectuals and foreign visitors seeking to be informed of the current situation.

On February 5 the Centre was almost completely destroyed by a terror bomb attack organised by the Phalangist security services of the Gemayel regime. In the attack, more than 20 persons were killed, among them Hanna Jiryis, wife of Sabri and a talented scholar in her own right, and over 100 wounded. Again, despite the tragic new blow, and amidst repeated warnings and intimations by the Lebanese authorities to cease all activity, the remaining staff and volunteers continued to work. Courageously determined to keep alive the fragile flame of Palestinian cultural presence in Beirut, they set up offices in an adjacent building while overseeing repair work at the old Centre. With meticulous and loving care, semi-burnt pieces of paper were salvaged from beneath the ruins, cleaned, and wherever possible pieced together. Under a daily rain of threats, the Palestinian Research Centre workers obstinately persisted, somewhat desperately, with their tasks.

On April 20, on the pretext of the explosion at the US embassy in Beirut, the Lebanese army carried out a massive search in the Centre and then sealed off the building. Sabri Jiryis and his few colleagues continued to work, however, in the little space left which also served as a communication point for the drastically reduced PLO liaison office (its official building has been occupied by the Lebanese army since the Israeli invasion of Beirut.) Following the search in April, Jiryis held a press conference in which he denounced the Lebanese military authorities, accusing them of extreme brutality. Since then, threats and pressures became even more insidious.

On June 19, two Palestinian guards of the Centre, Hassan Abu Salem and Hassan Ramadan, went down to Hamra and stopped near the Commodore Hotel where they were to buy some foreign newspapers for the Centre's work. As their car stopped, an explosion occurred which killed both men instantly. According to Palestinian sources, there can be no doubt that the time bomb, containing five kilogrammes of hexagene, according to a Lebanese official expert, was placed in the car in such a way to make it appear as if the men were transporting explosives for a civilian attack in Hamra but were caught by the premature explosion. Such a frame-up was necessary for the Lebanese authorities in order to justify the closure of the Centre, after personnel refused to leave.

Shortly after the explosion, Jiryis and Rajab were arrested while the Lebanese security forces massively searched the Centre, later claiming to have found 250 grammes of explosives, a time detonation device, four hand grenades and some weapons. "According to the military prosecutor," the official Lebanese government agency reported in a statement circulated to the press in Beirut, "the explosives were part of a stock which had been used to carry out many other attacks."

The PLO's information department head, Yasir Abed Rabbo, accused in Damascus that the explosives had been put in the sealed off section of the Centre by the Lebanese security services before they closed the area. WAFA described it as "an act of premeditated persecution in violation of the commitments assumed by the Lebanese government in agreement with Philip Habib in regard to the protection of Palestinian persons and property in Beirut." The agreement, as the Sabra-Shatila massacres eloquently illustrated, was never taken seriously by either the Americans or the Gemayel regime, as everyone knows.

On the other hand, the US-sponsored Israeli-Lebanese accord, in which the Gemayel regime committed itself to preventing the existence of any PLO representation -- of any kind and on any level — in Beirut and Lebanon, is evidently being meticulously applied by the Lebanon government, despite its 'suspension' by the Israelis themselves. The closure of the Palestinian Research Centre is grave evidence of that, while the continued detention of Jiryis and Rajab, who are being held as high-ranking hostages by the Phalangist torture regime, necessarily gives rise to grave concern in Beirut and elsewhere.

Palestinian Legitimacy

by Sari Nusseibi

The essence of the present dispute in the Beqa'a is not the correctness or legitimacy of the demands and reforms which the opposition in Fatah calls for, but Palestinian legitimacy. This legitimacy emerged from and was dedicated by the Palestinian National Movement through a bitter struggle in the face of a brutal campaign that aimed and still aims at breaking the Palestinian independent identity, independent decision-making and the achievement of a just solution.

We should not forget that the Palestinian legitimacy is a result of a long process of dialectical reactions between the Palestinian revolutionary will — the will of the Palestinian masses — and these masses' tool for revolutionary struggle — the PLO. It is clear that the nature of this relationship does not permit the extermination of the Palestinian legitimacy through removal of only one side of the relation or equation.

On the one hand, the attempt to crush the Palestinian masses will fail as long as the tool of struggle remains active, lighting the masses' hopes and feeding their will.

On the other, the attempt to crush the tool of the struggle will fail as long as the will remains firm and feeds the revolution with intellectual and human power.

Thus exterminating Palestinian legitimacy requires two complementary processes — crushing the will of the masses and crushing its tool of struggle — ie, exterminating the uniqueness of political representation of the Palestinian people that the PLO has won and the extermination of its military arm.

Whoever looks through these binoculars and despite their emotional support for that side or the other, will see immediately that what is happening in the Beqa'a these days and even what is going on in our institutions in the occupied territories, is nothing more than a continuation of the military blow received in Lebanon a year ago against the tool of struggle of the Palestinian people. Now the circle is being closed on the process of exterminating Palestinian legitimacy by tearing apart the uniqueness of the Palestinian will, which remains one and exclusive under the auspices of a solid, unbreakable PLO.

It is a deadly mistake for revolutionary elements to permit anybody to extend the dedication of the dispute and split. What is requested of these clean elements, and especially after the Syrian decision to expel the representative of the Palestinian people from Syrian land, is a reevaluation of the situation in order not to allow the deepening of the gap and the reproduction of the representative bodies and the Palestinian revolution.

Such reproduction is only one step short of by-passing Palestinian legitimacy: the aim of the anti-Palestinian forces including those forces planning to legitimise the occupation and to affirm the Israeli sovereignty in the occupied territories according to Camp David.

So what is requested of all the honest Palestinian elements, regardless of their affiliation, is confirmation and solidification of unity within the ranks of the revolution. They have to be aware of the time bombs within the ranks. The coming few days may reveal the depth of the trench towards which we are pulling ourselves.

We in the occupied territories have not only to demand our brothers outside to preserve the democratic behaviour which allows constructive criticism within the organisational structure, but unite and transcend our differences in preparation to face this dangerous juncture in the path of the struggle of our people to achieve its legitimate goals of return, self-determination and an independent state. (Translation: Al Fajr, June 28, 1983)

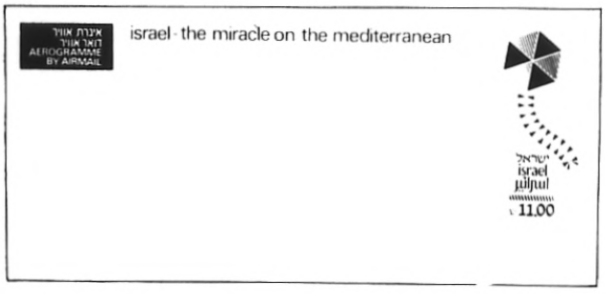
Kites or Mirages?

by Thoma Shick

The Israeli postal services have recently issued a new aerogramme for international use. It holds on it the print of a new postage stamp — exclusively for aerogrammes — the image of a flying kite. Besides the kite, the top of the aerogramme bears this slogan: *Israel — a miracle in the Mediterranean.*

Every government of every country makes propaganda through its postage stamps and postal devices, mainly for tourist purposes, but also for political ends. I have no remark to make in this context.

However, the only miracle visible on the new aerogramme is the flying kite that has no string. Such a kite's destiny is either to fly away into the sky (orspace), to fallback to the ground and break to pieces or get hung up on the electric cables stretched all over the place.



Kites do fly, though they are made only of paper; but one should hold the string down with two legs secure to the earth, let the string loose or make it tight, depending on what winds blow. Otherwise nobody can predict what will happen.

In my mother-tongue — Hungarian — a kite is called a "dragon"; I think it's the same in China, from where the instrument comes, like many other paper articles.

Mirages are different. They are made of steel like F-16s and the like. They are heavy, but fly — and they don't need string to hold them up — but still they need someone to operate them. Those steel kites can be loaded too, and the loads might even be dangerous. At times like that I think I still prefer paper kites.

But I always get confused with that simplified symbolism: now I don't know whether I prefer a stringless paper kite that flies away or falls to the ground, a paper kite that can't live in peace, and security without miracles, and Mirages, because it's better to have a paper kite that's made to behave with a string. Basically, I would prefer a simple snapshot of a loving couple.

Or should I bless fate that I've been privileged to have the opportunity to buy aerogrammes and mail them to friends and wonder about kites and aeroplanes and symbols and propaganda. Some people,instead,have been miracled to death or misery by some stringless Mirages or whatever their cousins are called... amiracle in the Mediterranean...

The Dawn of Israel-Style Apartheid

by Hanna Assadi

Jonathan Kuttab

"There is now apartheid in the West Bank," asserts co-director of the Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man organisation, Jonathan Kuttab. Reviewing West Bank legal developments since the invasion of Lebanon, last year, Kuttab commented to *Al Fajr* that the trend of dual Palestinian and Israeli settler law has continued but at a much faster pace. "There are now two separate communities, two separate economic systems, two separate legal systems, two separate, separate. . . everything!"

And separate is certainly not intended to mean equal. The noose is tightening around Palestinian institutions and local development generally, the young US-trained lawyer explained. New military orders plug loopholes which gave some freedom of action while others, promulgated but unused, are being activated.

The most recent assault on independent institutions is mainly through financial restraints. Military Order (MO) 952 outlaws bringing in money from outside, while MO 974 orders all cash from outside to be deposited in a 'Judea and Samaria Development Fund'. "Money from the Joint (PLO - Jordan) Committee or Arab states has always been subject to confiscation as coming from the 'enemy'," points out Kuttab. "With the new order a mechanism has been set up to deal with money that does filter in. As long as the money did not reach the people, it was allowed. When people began to benefit from it, they tightened the noose."

MO 988 makes a permit mandatory for any organisation wishing to solicit donations, accept gifts, bring in grants or charge fees even in return for services. "By this order Palestinian organisations are hamstrung. They can do nothing without financial assistance," declared Kuttab.

Agriculture in the West Bank is also entering a new, ultra-restrictive era. "Although the use of land and water and the marketing of produce has always been controlled," notes Kuttab, "now the planting of crops is regulated by military order." MO 1015 stipulates which fruit trees can be planted and 1039 which vegetables. Another catch is MO 1002 by which the authorities can regulate fees to be charged by nurseries for saplings.

Kuttab says that only recently have military orders become a matter of public record. "Now, with some diligence, copies of most orders can be obtained. However, regulations, as opposed to orders, are not regularly distributed — and then only in Hebrew," he says. These innocuous MOs give power to a designated body "to issue regulations" — this is frequently done with regard to settlement legislation. LSM found that behind one such order lay 250 articles.

Kuttab, who co-authored with Raja Shehadeh the influential *West Bank and the Rule of Law*, sees legal loopholes being closed one at a time, land confiscation procedures being streamlined and the nearing to completion of "a sophisticated process of *de facto* apartheid." The Israeli settlers on the West Bank are to all intents and purposes living like their compatriots inside the pre-'67 borders and under the same legal and court system. Loopholes exist in the MO system, Kuttab believes, because of the cumbersome nature of legislating by decree.

MO 1005 is designed to close one of these gaps. It allows two parties to "contract out" of the local and military courts systems in matters of "abandoned" or "state" property. Thus settler-to-settler or settler-military authority deals can be made directly in the Israeli courts — where legislation is tailor-made for absorbing Arab property.

In parallel, Kuttab expounds, the military objections committee — the end point for Palestinian appeals — has had its jurisdiction widened to 27 new areas by MO 1019. Meanwhile, Jordanian law is completely circumvented by MO 1025, which allows certain unspecified legal bodies (presumably the Jewish National Fund and its corporations) to hold real estate without fulfilling the conditions required by Jordanian law. MO 1030 states that they can build on it too. The order carries an unpublished appendix which designates the companies permitted by it.

There has been a great deal of publicity about anti-protest measures reportedly being considered by new Chief of Staff Moshe Levy and Minister of Defence Moshe Arens. In fact, several measures have been taken already. MO 1035 increased the maximum fine in military court by 1000 percent from IS75,000 to IS750,000.

Punitive action against Palestinians is promoted by MO 1020 which, *inter alia*, allows the military to expell non-residents from closed military areas — for example, the press — and for residents of a closed area to be arrested anywhere and deported into his or her home area. "This clearly facilitates collective punishment," opines Kuttab.

MO 999 delegates the power to arrest and temporarily detain "anyone designated" by the authorities. "Presumably, this 'tidying-up' provision will be used to give more power to settlers or even Village League people," says Kuttab.

MO 1000 has contemporary importance, given the controversy now raging over the vigilante issue. It is an adjustment to a previous order which gave the military power to close a criminal file or stop conviction "for security purposes" at any point before conviction. "MO 1000 removes the words 'for security purposes'," states Kuttab. "Now the power is absolute and discretionary." Legal sources note that MO 1000 was promulgated and executed after the daylight murder of Daoud Atawneh by Village League members in Beit Kahel last June.

Civil litigation is being pushed beyond the means of many people by the provisions of MO 1017, which increase court, registration, permit and notary fees by up to 1000 percent — this despite the fact that they are charged in Jordanian dinars, which are almost inflation proof. MO 1037 similarly ups court costs and registration of company charges by up to 600 percent.

Kuttab views these developments as putting meat on the bones of two separate systems. "Until about two years ago you could talk of settlers as individuals, as 'foreign elements', as a 'group of fanatics'. Now you must talk of a parallel system where there are two communities — a clearly specified Jewish community and the other non-Jewish," notes Kuttab. "There's already an advisor for Arab affairs!"

Kuttab sees the 'civil administration' as central to this separate development policy. "This is why it's not synonomous with the military government. The 'civil administration' branch of the occupation is in the 'office of minorities', while the part that deals with Jews has no name." He cites the legal system as an example of the apartheid system. Settler courts are not under the jurisdiction of Israel's Ministry of Justice or of the 'civil administration' officer in charge of the judiciary. Settlers deal directly with the military governor.

And the war in Lebanon? Kuttab believes the June 1982 invasion shifted attention from the occupied territories sufficiently for the process of apartheidisation to be activated and concentrated. "The West Bank was relatively quiet but the military government was working overtime to establish this structure." Is it too late, or can this process be rolled back? "That depends on the pressure exerted outside to get it reversed," concludes Kuttab.

THE MAPS OF THE MANDATE PERIOD ARE MORE MORE DANGEROUS THAN ANY BOMB

Remembering Zakaria

by Uri Avneri

HaOlam Hazeh

June 15, 1983

In the fall of 1948, I was in military training with the Givati unit at Kfar Menahem. From time to time we would go to the east side on brutal patrols. Some of the patrol units arrived to the Arab village of Zakaria, located near Beit Shemesh, which today is called Kfar Zecharia.

I still remember the smell of the fields, the trees from which we picked fruits, the steps of people and donkeys we saw. Our task was to force the villagers to leave to the east, to Hebron and Bethlehem.

I hadn't recalled the name of Zakaria for years. This week I accompanied the *HaOlam Hazeh* staff who prepared a report about the refugee camp of Dheisheh next to Bethlehem. We were received with open arms, and a local who volunteered to guide us in the camp told us that his parents came from Zakaria.

I asked other youth about the places from which their parents came to Dheisheh. I heard many names of villages which disappeared from the face of the earth a long time ago. But they are still alive and exist in the imagination of the youth who were born in the camps, the children of the second and third generations. Many times, in Israel and abroad, I have seen maps from 1948, where hundreds of villages and towns which have disappeared are noted on maps distributed by Palestinian institutions in the diaspora. And these maps are more dangerous than any bomb.

When I visited the refugee camps in South Lebanon, I met 10-year-old boys and girls. When I asked them, "Where do you come from?" I always received exact answers — names of Arab villages and towns which I hardly remembered.

Usually, I ask this question of every Palestinian whom I meet abroad — leaders, activists, guards, family members, clerks. In every meeting, a map is drawn — not the map of today, but the map from the Mandate period — when Shlomi was Basa, and Kiryat Shemona was Khalsa, and Ashdod was Asdud. The collective memory of a people is an obstinate thing (and who knows that better than we do?). After three generations, nothing has been erased; on the contrary, it has been sharpened.

Every such meeting raises two reactions. One is on the emotional level. I was a soldier in 1948, and participated in the operations during which many people were evacuated. We were then young and naive. We fought for our lives. It was a no-choice war (the first and the last). We were not aware of the fact that on the other side were also human beings — men, women and children. We were not aware that we planted the horrible seeds of misery and suffering for generations. We cannot avoid this moral problem. The more we try to escape it, the more it will follow us. We have to understand what we did and how it happened, and what the human price was. In my conversation with the youth from Dheisheh, I didn't try to hide my part in the destiny of Zakaria.

The second reaction is on the logical level. It is impossible to turn back the wheels of history. The refugees know that. I discovered that from my talks with them — from heart-to-heart talks, painful and honest talks. But they who think that it is possible to relate to what happened as if it didn't happen, and to see the refugees as sawdust in the wind, don't know what they are talking about.

The problem does exist, because the people do exist. It will never disappear, not in 10 years, not in 100 years, if it is not solved. The only possible solution is to regain for this people their human status and their national dignity. This means a solution which is close to their minds and hearts.

This will be very difficult. We shouldn't delude ourselves on this issue. It will never be an easy thing to solve a problem of a man who dreams about his house and the trees of Zakaria, even if he has never seen them. But the solution is possible, when there is a readiness to reconsider, and to understand the feelings of the other and to cope with the ethical and political problem.

If not, this problem will pursue the state of Israel in future generations. There will be neither peace nor rest for the people of Zakaria, who were born in a place as far as 20 kilometres away (even thousands of kilometres — the distance doesn't change the fact). Old women sit and tell their grandchildren about the other Zakaria, the one which exists in their memories, and their grandchildren tell their grandchildren — until a solution is found.

PEACE NOW ★

Q: Peace Now was four years old when Israel ed Lebanon. This was a very popular invasion: two-thirds of the Israeli people were in favour even one month after it started. Why did PN not have an effect in deterring such a massive aggression?

A: It's a very painful question. The trouble is that PN can only raise its voice. It does not have tanks, it does not have an army. When the question of war arises there is a government, and it has all the power to do what it wants. We could not stop the government from going to war. This must be clearly understood.

Q: And they did it also on the backs of PN supporters. Many of those on the front lines were PN activists. So, in fact, PN does have some power over the government in terms of 'people power.' It could have been part of their programme or a tactic to encourage mass conscientious objection to the war, for example.

A: There could be such a call, but at that moment the division would have been so strong that we would have been totally illegalised in the eyes of the Israeli public. This was not the view of all of us, this is my own personal view.

The larger public comes to PN rallies because of the kind of atmosphere that PN represents. Most of the people that come don't know exactly the points in this PN brochure or previous ones. Among our activists the stream of ideas is more common — we know more about the ideas of our closer friends, the group of 100-200 people who are the central activists around the country. Those people feel that disassociating ourselves from the public in time of war is very traumatic from any point of view and would bring us to the point of having no effect on the public.

Moreover, many PN supporters would not accept such a call. Many PN supporters, like most of the public, were mislead by the government at the beginning of the war. S..e the change in public opinion.

Two weeks after the war started, 13 percent opposed the war, almost 30 percent after the Sabra and Shatila massacre; 35 percent in January and it grows all the time. Almost half of the Israeli public is against the war today. It takes time for people to understand.

Most of the public that is against the war in Lebanon is not against occupation.

Q: Right now the Begin government is in crisis; there is raging opposition to it. We know from our experiences of Israeli governments in the past, that a good way to quell opposition is to launch a war that appears to be a defensive war, and the logical area where this would occur is, of course, in the Beqa'a. What would PN's response be, as far as military service is concerned?

A: PN would oppose any war of that kind. The demonstrations are just a continuation of the continuous trouble in Lebanon. If there were only the troubles and no protests in the street maybe they would have taken this line, to try to widen the war and publicly show it as a defensive war, of course.

Since the street is very strong against the stay of the Israeli army in Lebanon, I think the government clearly sees it does not have the public support for a war.

Q: Do you think there is ever a point where soldiers should refuse to serve in an on-going war?

A: Wars are political decisions. I think in the special situation of Israel, that if people based on their own conscience feel they do not want to serve in another war, that is their own problem. They should deal with it and pay the price for it. They should be put in jail for it instead of going to war.

As a movement, calling for a refusal to serve in the army — in the special situation that Israel is still in today — we cannot take this direction. What we can do is fight politically and if there are illegal orders while in military service in Lebanon, in the West Bank, people should not obey illegal orders, of course. They will have very good standing in court; people know they are allowed not to obey illegal orders.

Q: Excuse my confusion, but earlier you said what is legal and what is illegal is subjective. Now it seems you're accepting the Israeli definition of what's legal or illegal.

A: No, this is moral, a moral legality. Shooting on unarmed people is a moral decision. I don't care what the law writes about it. An order is a law. A military order is law in the army. Then I'm saying you shouldn't obey certain orders, you're taking a moral position on a legal question, on what seems to be the law. It is a moral position.

There is always the question: Do you want to clear your conscience or have a public effect? — PEACE NOW

Q: And this is true also in Lebanon?

A: If there are military orders to do things that are immoral, this is the same kind of argument. But if it is a question of being against service in the army, I don't see how army service goes with the moral question. A moral decision is a personal decision but serving or not serving in the army is not a moral decision.

Q: What I meant was not to resist army service *per se*, but to resist serving in this war or not. For example, some Israelis felt Israel should not have gone beyond the 40-kilometre line, others felt the army should not have entered west Beirut, others believed that they should have prevented the massacres — everyone has their own limits. Where is Peace Now's?

A: My personal view in this is that it doesn't matter, even if you ask not to serve in Lebanon and you serve in Tel Aviv, you're freeing someone else to serve in Lebanon. If you go very deeply into this question, you see you really don't have an effect, unless you decide not to serve at all: when you're sent to service in Lebanon, you refuse and you go to jail. This clears your own conscience. You don't serve and you're ready to pay the price.

There is always the question: do you want to clear your conscience or do you want to leave a public effect?

Q: Peace Now, because it is an organised movement, I would think is against the tactic of individual positions.

A: No, it is not. On the contrary, we are against taking a position on this question as a movement, as a group.

I don't want to legitimize a call not to serve in the army. — PEACE NOW

I'm sure the government is terrified of mass rallies, demonstrations, mass groups but not from individuals here and there, not enough to change their point of view.

Q: Do you think PN could have had a deterring effect on Israel's occupation of Lebanon if there had been mass military disobedience of the call-up for the war, and how would this have damaged as you say, Israel's security interests, at all?

A: It would have had an immediate effect on the war but this war in Lebanon is not disconnected from other things. One of the basic principles we have for the peace process is that Israel is a strong country militarily and that it can allow itself to make concessions. But by not serving and not building this strength we divorce ourselves from one of the basic issues of the public.

The other question that we are attacking are the basic questions of the occupation — this is the source of the war in Lebanon. Most of the public that is against the war in Lebanon is not against occupation. This does not mean that in this next period we cannot make the correct conections to show why this war started, how wars can start because of things that happen in the occupied territories and then to move the public point of view from Lebanon to the territories.

Q: What's PN's position on the continued occupation in Lebanon, are they in favour of calling for the unilateral withdrawal of the Israeli forces?

A: What we say is that — after the agreement with Lebanon — the Israeli government can do whatever it likes to solve the problem of the security of the Galilee as long as it takes our soldiers out of Lebanon. It can decide to continue the agreement with Lebanon, and do it that way, or reactivate previous agreements with Lebanon there before the war, as long as all our soldiers are taken out.

Q: Is PN encouraging the Israeli government to negotiate with the PLO?

A: Not with the PLO, but with Palestinian representatives who would accept the principle of negotiations as the only basis of solving the Palestinian problem. We demand the Palestinians abandon terror as a method.

One Year Into The Lebanon War —
Peace Mobilisation In Israel

At the start of Israel's invasion of Lebanon one year ago, only one small Israeli peace organisation, the Committee of Solidarity with Bir Zeit, protested. Since then war opposition has grown and a number of important groups have mobilised new sectors of Israeli society.

Peace Now, an Israeli liberal coalition established five years ago to support the Sadat initiative, took weeks to form any position about Israel's war on Lebanon and only supported a call for the unilateral withdrawal of troops after the Israel-Lebanon agreement was signed in spring 1983. The basis of Peace Now's opposition to the war has rested on its desire for a 'strong Israel': the military ineffectiveness of its action, the quagmire of the occupation of Lebanon — which so far has cost over 500 Israeli lives and the diversion of national resources. As in their opposition to settlement-building in the West Bank and Gaza, Peace Now's stand avoids unity around principles supporting the Palestinian people and limits itself to what it calls "political pragmatism", supporting anything that works.

Peace Now's appeal is almost exclusively among middle class, middle-aged Western European Jews with strong backing from the Labour Alignment. Its tactics are non-confrontational: it stages showcase demonstrations, few in number but with large turnouts. It has been able to incorporate the Israeli public's turn against the war into its own ranks; the number of activists in the movement has tripled since the war to 30,000, its spokesmen contend.

The smaller Committee Against the War in Lebanon is, as spokeswoman Judy Blanc describes it, a "left, militant coalition" opposed to the war in principle. It has a large representation from Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party, and many of its members are university students and professors, like the Bir Zeit University solidarity committee which spawned it.

CAWL has managed to harness the energies of the militant left, like Matzpen, into a group which can work effectively with the newly-politicised. Besides a steady programme of demonstrations and informational meetings about the nature of Israel's occupation of Lebanon, CAWL has organised an informational campaign and legal support for Ansar POWs and for military war resisters. It projects a positive programme of recognition of Palestinian national rights, representation and a two-state formula.

An important group which has evolved around CAWL is Yesh Gvul, *a group of over 2000 reserve soldiers who have refused service in Lebanon. Their Peace Now equivalent is Soldiers Against Silence, who protest Israeli violations of the "purity of arms" slogan in the conduct of the war and in the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Similar groups are Mothers Against Silence and Parents Against Silence.*

Al Fajr *correspondent Anita Vitullo interviewed* **Amiram Goldblum,** *Peace Now spokesman in Jerusalem, and* **Judy Blanc,** *spokeswoman for the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, about the successes and failures of their respective movements one year after the start of the war.*

Q: Does PN believe that the war in Lebanon was launched for military or for political reasons or a combination?

A: We believe that it was only launched for political reasons. The results of the war show very clearly there was no military reason for it. The political reason was to create havoc in the Palestinian camp, to show the West Bank that their leadership can be wiped out, that there is no military strength there and to show the people that they will be under military occupation for a long time and maybe even Israeli law one day. I think they completely failed. If the war had any political effect, I think it had the contrary effect on the people. It showed the West Bank that a solution is needed as soon as possible — that they are in danger and that there should be some very fast moves to get this danger off their backs.

Q: Let's not talk about it as 'terror' but as military means versus political means.

A: OK, military means.

Q: Has Israel abandoned military means in favour of political means in solving the Palestinian problem?

A: This brings us back to the question of terror. We don't think that the only means the PLO has is military means. Clearly getting into a house in a kibbutz and killing children is not a military action, it is a terrorist action or going into a bus on the Haifa-Tel Aviv road and trying to take hostages is also a terrorist action. The Israeli public feels there is a danger of terrorism from the Palestinian movement. A country has the right to defend itself.

* *

COMMITTEE AGAINST THE WAR IN LEBANON

Q: Could you describe the structure and constituency of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon (CAWL)?

A: CAWL was an *ad hoc* committee which grew up spontaneously around the nucleus of the Committee of Solidarity with Bir Zeit. It has retained a loose structure of secretariats in the three major cities of Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, plus some groupings in Beer Sheba and in some kibbutzim.

CAWL is broader than the Solidarity Committee; even the core of activists is broader although there is not a great deal of difference between them. In the case of CAWL, their activities have drawn in a wider spectrum of people, some of whom were never politically active before.

Q: How large is the core of activists?

A: In the three major cities I would say hundreds. The committee has representation both from organisations and people who are active who are not organisationally affiliated to parties, for instance. The Communist Party is represented, Sheli (Zionist socialist) is represented. We meet every week and representatives from these groups as well as individuals appear at meetings. A coordinating committee for the entire country also functions every week. There has not been a statement of organisational principles. What there has been is a minimum platform in which the committee works. There has also been a problem of certain blurring between the Solidarity Committee and CAWL because there are some issues on which we act that are appropriate to both. When we had a demonstration with the slogan, "There Is a Connection", CAWL sponsored the demonstration but the connection was with what's going on in the West Bank.

There is on the horizon an initiative to establish a broader peace coalition that will hopefully absorb the committee plus the Israel-Palestine Peace Council (led by Matti Peled).

Q: What would be its unifying principles?

A: What the committee has achieved internally has been to unite the left in Israel around a clear programme and style of work. The programme is relatively clear: it is within the framework of a two-state solution with an unequivocal demand for the rights of self-determination for the Palestinians and an end to occupation, obviously. The platform of the new coalition explicitly refers to the PLO. We, the committees, don't have a written up platform. We have this consensus and it is clear that negotiations with the PLO are part of the consensus.

During the war the slogan was stated, on occasion, more broadly: negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the Palestinians without mention of the PLO at a time when it was more important to get people out onto the street in support of that principle than to lose people. But that will not be so with the new coalition. It is clear that all of us who are active in the group are committed in our perspective. So far in CAWL we have worked by consensus rather than platform.

Q: Could you describe CAWL's position on Lebanon today, is it calling for unilateral withdrawal of troops?

A: Historically we came out with illegal demonstrations the first days of the war while we were still the Committee of Solidarity. In the first demonstration in our own name, one week after the war began, we called for immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops. We have been unequivocal in calling for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon all along.

Q: What are some of the issues on which you have been trying to mobilise people over the past year? I know, for example, Ansar detention camp has been one.

A: There has been a line of work, some of it less publicised, because we haven't always been able to get to the newspapers. There were activities in Tel Aviv to demand that attention be paid both to the people in Ansar and the people in the camps. In Haifa, which has had less national publicity, the level of grassroots work that has been done has been superior to the work in the other two cities. They have had house meetings, leaflet distributions at shopping centres, as well as other meetings. An informational meeting on Ansar was held in Jerusalem.

The issue that raised the Committee to greater prominence during the year came after the murder of Emil Greensweig at the Peace Now demonstration after the Kahan report was issued. Although there's no proof in hand, I think it's fairly clear that Sharon and his forces organised the violence. There was clear evidence — and it was reported in the newspaper — that he was making an effort to organise the army in support of his remaining in the cabinet. And Burg (interior minister) himself said that there was danger of a *putsch* — or that it had reached a *putschist* atmosphere."

One of CAWL's more general problems is to politicize Peace Now.

When Peace Now demonstrated it was quite clear that there must have been some contacts with the political rightists. We already know that the murder, the violence against the demonstration, was not spontaneous. Peace Now refused to view this as violence from the right and accepted the right's definition of it as violence in general. We tried to get them to repeat the same demonstration route on the occasion of the end of the mourning period. Their intention was clearly to depoliticise. Then CAWL decided to do it.

One of our more general problems is to politicise Peace Now. Speaking realistically, CAWL is a left, militant coalition. Our ability to mobilise the nation as a whole is virtually non-existent. We can be effective to the degree that we can catalyse liberal forces that are closer to us. We don't like to, but we don't have the forces to go directly to the (poor) neighbourhoods, for instance. One of our objectives in reaching the Israeli public — and that has to be our objective, to mobilise the Israelis primarily — has been to set an example and convince people who fall in the broader liberal-peace sentiment, to get up and act in a consistent fashion.

The other characteristic of the movement, which is a matter of principle, is that it is an Arab-Jewish movement. For instance, on June 4 we felt it critical that there be an Arab-Jewish demonstration. It is one of our strong charges against Peace Now.

Q: How many people participated in the June 4 demonstration?

A: About 2000, at least 500 of whom were Arab.

Q: Does CAWL have an Oriental Jewish constituency?

A: We have connections through Charlie Biton (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality). If we get the peace coalition set up so that the activists can be freer to concentrate on some other things rather than everything, there are many activists who are willing and able to work in the communities.

Q: What kind of responses do your demonstrations get from the public?

A: We have met with a different kind of flak from the right-wing crowds when we had our demonstrations in the street. Throughout the year we had demonstrations almost every month, and Jerusalem is a right-wing town, despite the Hebrew University which has a liberal grouping here — Peace Now has its stronghold in the university here. CAWL, on the other hand, is much stronger in Tel Aviv University.

We don't get the same kind of class hatred that Peace Now does. We're still more strongly academic than we should be but the militant character realises a different sort of response so that even in the demonstration we had on the Emil route — the one that followed the High Court decision where we had the police guard — we had to wait a half hour before we started out and we were able to get into discussions with the crowd there. I don't mean that the crowd is with us, but the militancy is in our favour. I think this can have consequences later on.

Q: You spoke earlier of your methods being different. Do you demonstrate whether you have a permit or not?

A: It depends. We decide whether we are willing to demonstrate illegally or not. We have frequently done so. In the case of Jerusalem for instance, we have insisted that our route is through the centre of town — up Ben Yehuda Street. We're interested in making clear our stands.

Q: How well do you think you succeeded over a period of one year since the war first began — however you measure this, in terms of numbers, change of policy or in any perceptible change in people's attitudes?

A: Today we face a different situation: the dissatisfaction with the war is widespread. Obviously a year ago our first task was simply to oppose the war and open the door for those who were free to oppose the war — the followers. Today there are others, Against Silence, for example; these groups are not political. They represent the sentiment of the people today. These groups tend to be closer to the Peace Now sentiment.

We have brought our publications to such meetings; they have been received and read. At the demonstration of Parents Against Silence, several weeks ago, the one that moved onto the Knesset, we distributed our brochure, which was prepared summing up the lessons of the past year, and it was accepted by everyone it was passed to. Many of the people knew the Committee and recognised that CAWL was first. This is still a long way from being adequate. But it means the Committee has won at least the silent respect of people who believe they should have spoken up, as indeed many do.

CAWL has united the left in Israel around a clear programme and style of work.

Q: Do you have contacts with Peace Now?

A: In Tel Aviv there is a more radical wing of Peace Now that has regular contacts with the committee. There is also in Tel Aviv a much more right-wing stream of PN that simply boycotts the CAWL. There have been regular contacts established.

There is in the lower ranks of PN some ferment going on. When 20,000 came to our demonstration June 26, last year, — an Arab-Jewish demonstration in which there was a moment of silence for both Arabs and Jews who had fallen — and when PN Tel Aviv showed up at that demonstration, they realised they would have to act.

At the June 4 Peace Now demonstration of 50,000 (although they said 150,000 turned out) it was striking that the spirit was absolutely lacking. It is one of their errors today when there is so much anti-war sentiment that they follow rather than in any way lead, don't take clear positions, avoid any commitment to a position — they are standing still.

continued on page 13

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda*. The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No 88 (A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967 and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order... It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed. The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."

Below, the emblems of Cairo and Beirut publishing houses. Both cities remain prominent publishing centres in the Arab world. Books published in these cities and other Arab capitals are banned by the Israeli authorities in the West Bank.

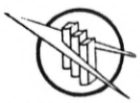
Dar al-Maarif, Cairo

Al-Ahram, Cairo

Dar Nahda Misr, Cairo

Dar al-Ilm Lilmalayin, Beirut

Dar al-Nafa'es, Beirut



Al Nadi al-Thaqafi al-Arabi, Beirut

Title	Author	Place of Publication Publisher
Israel's Foundation	Ali al-Din Hilal	Egypt Dar al-Hilal
Arab Socialism	Abd al-Ghani Said	Beirut Dar al-Nahar
Beware of Zionism	Yuri Ivanov	Beirut Dar al-Nahar
Islam Through History		
Victories and Defeats	Abd al-Ghani Said	Cairo Dar al-Qahira
Hafra	Iz al-Manasra	Beirut General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists
Revolutionary Ideas in Military Tactics	Said al-Khaled	Beirut Dar al-Talia
A World Not For Us	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut Ghassan Institute
What Remains for You	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut Ghassan Institute
The Communist Hope in Palestine 1919 - 1928	Maher Sharif	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
Beginnings	Yacoub Zayadin	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Vietnamese Historical Experience	Yasin Hafeth	Beirut Dar al-Talia
The Land of Sad Oranges	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut Ghassan Institute
The Death of Bed No. 12	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut Ghassan Institute
Contemporary Arab Literature in Syria	Sami Kayyali	Egypt Dar al-Ma'arif
Strategy and the Guards of October 6, 1973	Abd al-Aziz Rifae and Mohammad Sayed	Cairo Dar al-Nahda
The Tenth Crusader War	Hilmi Mohammad Qa'oud	Cairo Dar al-Itisam
The October 1973 War	Mohammad Mustafa Sha'bini	Cairo Dar al-Nahda
The Palestinian Cause	Akram Zueiter	Cairo Dar al- Ma'arif
Crisis of Political Thought in the Modern Age	Abd al-Hamid Mutwalli	Alexandria The New Egyptian Office
The Watch Tower	Hanna Mina	Damascus October Institute
Abd al-Nasser and International Colonialism	Odeh Boutros Odeh	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Israel's Plan to Establish the Maronite Entity	Livia Rokach	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Last Picture in the Album	Samih al-Qassem	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Front and Disunity		Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
The Future of Israel Between Uprooting and Melting	**Kamal Mohammad Mohammad**	**Cairo Dar al-Mawqif al-Arabi**
Events That Made History	**Mahmoud Abd al-Halim**	**Alexandria Dar al-Da'awa**
Tours and Moments Outstretched	**Ahmad Sidki Dajani**	**Beirut United Distribution Company**
Arabs Confronted By a Changing Age	**Ahmad Sidki Dajani**	**Lebanon**
Israel — The American State in the Middle East	Ibrahim Shamas	Beirut Institute of Journalism
The Path	Ifnan al-Qasim	Beirut Arab Institute
Masonism in the Open	Mohammad Ali Zuabi	
Loves at the Gates of Rome	Salah al-Susi	Egypt Rose al-Yusuf
The Movement for National Revolt and the Struggle for Socialism	Khaled Bikwash	
The History of Palestinian Workers 1918 - 1948	Abd al- Qader Yassin	Beirut Palestinian Research Centre
The Extraordinary Conference of the Yemeni Socialist Party	Ali Nasr Mohammad	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
Afghani Literature	Fulkon	
The Zionist Document in the Old Testament	George Kana'an	
Naked on the River Bank	Saleh Abu Usbah	al-Ma'arafi Press
Autonomy Plan	Hani Mundis	PLO Publication and Education Department
The Wavering Peace	John Raynes	Egyptian Council for Publications
The Palestinian National Rising in the West Bank, Gaza and the Galilee 1940 - 1978	Said Jawad	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
Birds of the North	Ali Hussein Khalaf	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Confiscated Pearl After 30 Years	Anwar al-Jundi	Cairo Dar al-Ansar
The Palestinian Revolt, Past, Present and Future	Salah Zaki	Cairo Dar al-Thakafi al-Jadidi
What After the Burning of al-Aqsa Mosque?	Abd al-Hamid Sa'ih	Cairo Dar al-Shaab
The Greater Arab Revolt	Subhi Yassin	Damascus Dar al-Hana Press
Extracts from the Contemporary Israeli Play	Mu'in Bseiso	The General Arab Committee for Publication
Lessons From the History of Palestine	Mohammad al-Drusa	Beirut Modern Bookshop Publications
The Arab Revolt		Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party
Saddam Qadasieh and National Awakening	Asa'ad Ghotani	Iraqi Ministry of Education and Culture
The Programme of the Egyptian National Progressive Party		Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Carter, Sadat and Begin Agreement		Egyptian National Progressives Abroad
Marxism and Leninism and the Revolutionary Party	Munir Shafiq	Beirut Bar al-Talia
The New Democratic National Movement in Egypt		Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Complete Works of Naji Alloush	Naji Alloush	Iraqi Ministry of Education and Culture
The Dreams of Sanabel	Ali Abdo al-Zuabi	Amman Dar al-Sha'ub
Zionism and Racism Between Theory and Practice	Habib Qawaji	Syria Al-Ard Institute for Palestinian Studies
Sectarianism in Egypt	Ghali Shukri and others	Beirut Dar al-Talia
Two Defences of Palestine and Algeria	Ahmad Shukeiri	Beirut Commercial Office Publication
The Fighting Word in Palestine	Haron Hashem Rashid	Egypt Arab Bookshop and Ministry of Education
The Lost Revolution	Ali Ahmad Bakthir	Jedda Dar Saudia for Publication
The Palestinian Cause and the Danger of Zionism		The Lebanese Army and Defence Ministry PLO
Take My Body Now — A Bag of Sand	Mu'in Bseiso	Arab Research Centre
The Islamic Left	Hasan Hanafi	Cairo al-Ahram Studies Centre
Autonomy and Occupied Palestinian Land	Abd al-Halim Mohammad	
Foxes and Olives	Ifnan al-Qasim	
Foreigners and Alienation	Afnan al-Qasim	

Mu'in Bseisu Distributes Poetry to the Fighters

Mu'in Bseisu, *for three decades a militant Palestinian poet, was born in Gaza in the '30s. He was jailed for many years on charges of membership in the Egyptian Communist Party. He was outside Beirut when the Israeli siege started, but he announced that he would prefer to die among his people, and returned to the city. Bseisu's major work is a poetic epic entitled "The Giant Mode of Ears of Corn". His seven plays, including "The Black Revolution", "Samson and Delilah", "The Birds Built Nests Among the Fingers", "The Mine" and "The Trial of Kaleila and Demna", have been staged all over the world.*

Three days after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Bseisu wrote the poem "You Will Not Enter Beirut." The Independent Nasserite Mourabeitoun radio station in Beirut broadcast it six or seven times a day throughout the seige.

During the battle of Beirut, Falastin al-Thawra, The Battle *and* The Sidewalk *continued publication and distribution among the fighters.*

Mu'in Bseisu said that poems were distributed along with daily reports among the fighters. "These newspapers became the cultural documents for the historic conflict in Beirut."

Because of the bombardment, distribution was a major problem. The poet Ali Fodeh was killed distributing newspapers. Journalists would dodge from house to house, room to room, selling the papers, and from printing house to printing house to edit them. Despite these conditions, "You Will Not Enter Beirut" and a joint work by Mahmoud Darwish and Mu'in Bseisu, "To an Israeli Soldier", were translated into many languages, and have become political-literary documents of major significance.

The following is an interview with the poet after the siege:

Q: Mu'en Bseisu wrote once, "I carried you, Gaza, from the prison of oases to Maza jail." Are you sill carrying the Palestinian grief where you are now?

A: As I was, but now I have a strong, big bag. When wandering was not intense, when the travel was not far, I carried a small bag. Now I have to carry a strong one. I remember that when I phoned Mahmoud Darwish before leaving Beirut, he asked where I was going. I told him to Moscow, Cyprus or Athens. Darwish said: We have in this stage to carry big, strong bags, capable of steadfastness on the long journey.

Q: To what level did Arab and Palestinian poetry reach regarding the relationship between national-political and poetic concerns?

A: I do not believe that there is a separation between politics and poetry. The real poet shapes from these two streams his political and poetic existence. He derives themes from his principles and commitments to the cause he serves. The cause of the revolution for Palestinian poets is land as progressive motifs are for other poets, who struggle against the military dictatorship to maintain progressive values.

If we examine the political and literary arenas of the Palestinian people, in particular during the past 10 years - the stage of the Palestinian national resistance against the American, Israeli and reactionary assualt, we find for the first time in the history of Arab poetry that there is a poetry of resistance not only in the literary meaning but also in the scientific and rational meanings.

Now, for the first time, there is poetry connected to the Palestinian fight. There are militant newspapers against the Israeli tanks; for the first time there are poetic and literary forums in the trenches. Ali Fodeh was martyred distributing *The Sidewalk*. The editors of *Falastine al-Thawra* and *The Battle* wrote under bombardment. This is a special experience for Palestinian literature whether in the occupied territories or outside of Palestine. The political and the national concerns of the Palestinian poet are not interests stuck to a snail, engulfed by the flow of water and affected by its ebb. The poets' concerns are not small fish but they are big concerns, concern for the fate of the Palestinian revolution.

Because of this, Palestinian poetry occupies the front shelves of the international library and all the world printing houses. Palestinian literature has gained importance, not because other nations want to show their people, but because this literature deserves it. The printing houses in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries were the first countries that started publishing about Palestinian literature. There are many examples of Palestinian poets whose books have printed up to 100,000 copies; in Arab countries they did not publish more that 5000.

Q: What do you think of the idea that people do not accept or appreciate modern poetry unless it is 'musical'?

A: The masses in their natural senses are not attracted to the sawdust of literature, but they are always attracted to creative literature which feeds their spirit. Literature is the biggest pleasure offered by a creative person to the people around him. The task of the poet is not the task of the politician. The politician cannot go beyond the horizons of the masses but the poet must open new ones. In literature as in politics, the vanguard writer or poet does not stand at the rear of the movement. If the poet does, then the poetry becomes demagogic or deceptive. The poet and the writer have to be at the front of the struggle. There is a big rumour, or a big crime that claims the masses reject the big creative literary works as incomprehensible. If the poet agrees with this idea finally he will be transformed into a drummer. The modern poem proved that it is the artistic creative form of expression which is accepted by the masses.

We in Beirut, through 15 years wrote modern poetry. From my experience and the experiences of other comrades, the modern poem proves that it fulfills its main role in developing the artistic awareness of the masses and it has its effects on the masses whose fighters come from their ribs. There is no contradition between the modern form of poetry and the course of the struggle.

Our Palestinian revolution is modern in the classic meaning, it is modern because we, in Beirut, used all modern means of fighting against the Israeli enemy. Comrade Fidel Castro, the experienced revolutionary and the political militant, questioned (PLO Chairman Yasir) Arafat for two hours about the forms of the resistance used against the occupation. "How do you fight the Israeli tank?" he asked. "How do you build your fortifications?"

The Palestinian revolution is similar to the modern poem. There is no contradition at all between Palestinian poetry and the modern revolution and its new means of fighting.

Q: What about the crises in Palestinian poetry?

A: In fact, the crises do not exist in poetry but in poems themselves. Some people are optimistic about the victory of the revolution, others, at set backs, are pessimistic. They lose the compass and direction. I do not believe that Emil Habibi (a Palestinian writer and critic in Haifa) faces a crisis. I do not believe that Samih al-Qassem (a Galilee poet) faces a crisis, nor do Yahah Yakhuluf or Mahmoud Darwish. We have only one problem; it is time. We do not have enough time for writing. What is reflected upon the poet is a political crisis which is transformed into a poetic or a literary crisis. We are more optimistic than at any time before about the future of our revolution. It is the revolution which occupied the conscienceness of the world.

We are optimistic about the victory of our revolution over Zionism. As true as the law indicates that the earth goes around, the law of the revolution's ultimate victory is true. We have the problem of publication, the printing houses demand a lot from us and in this reality, we cannot satisfy these needs. Those who suffer from a so-called crisis, Palestine is no longer in their hearts and minds. They are not loyal to the homeland. We are not ashamed to say that some Palestinian poets are Palestinians only in their birth certificates. The criteria for Palestinianism is militant achievements. Some poets who are loyal to the cheques given to them attacked the joint poem I wrote with my comrade Mahmoud Darwish. Why? Because they did not understand this poem addressing an Israeli soldier. We did not address the Zionist soldier, but we addressed hundreds and thousands of Israeli soldiers who refused this dirty war. We addressed 548 who receive treatment in hospitals for psychological stress. We addressed the commander of the amoured brigade, Eli Geva, who refused to attack Beirut. We addressed the 400,000 demonstrators in Tel Aviv protesting the war.

Q: After Beirut, there has been a change in concepts and the political visions and also a change in the poetic concepts, what are these changes and their effects on poetry?

A: There was no radical change after the 'stage of Beirut'. What happened in Beirut and after was a new revolutionary formation based on the new realistic implications of the present revolutionary stage.

We cannot divide the events in Beirut from the political and military developments after the departure of the fighters, because the military operations are still effective in Beirut. We are the extension of Beirut, we are the streams of that river called the ramparts and fortifications of Beirut. The streams are still flowing in the river like the veins in the body of the human being.

We have to discover new and distinguishing forms for our literature. As the forms of resistance are not isolated from us, we are not reactions but actions. The battle of Beirut opens big horizons for our new literature.

Q: Do you consider that Palestinian literature has a vanguard role in Arabic literature?

A: The Palestinian revolution is the armed revolution which has the biggest effect on the course of the Arab liberation movement. Palestinian poetry has the same role. The Palestinian poets in Beirut gained special experiences which enabled their poetry to gain special characteristics not only in the Arab world but also in the whole world.

In Germany an anthology of poetry was published recently entitled, "The White Chain". In this anthology were Russian, British, French and Greek poets and myself. This is evidence that Palestinian literature has left its stamp internationally.

Q: It is said that the famous poets did not leave anything for smaller poets to say, what do you think?

A: However famous a poet feels he is, he still feels he's a child standing before the sea, trying to learn how to swim. The peak, therefore, has enough room for dozens of poets, not only for one or two.

The most important thing is to learn how to climb the mountain. The poet must not imagine that it is possible to descend the mountain by using a parachute or taking an elevator to the peak. The poet has to climb, his feet torn, but continue to climb. This is not advice, it is the nature of the work.

(Translation: al Fajr reader, April-May, 1983)

Window On The Arab Press

The continuing problems in the Lebanese Beqa'a between elements within the Fatah movement and the ensuing Palestinian-Syrian rift were the main headlines in the local Palestinian papers this week.

In their editorials and headlines, **Al Fajr** and **Al Shaab** expressed strong and unquestionable support for PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and unity within Fatah and the PLO. **Al Mithaq**, while calling for an end to the intra-Palestinian fighting and a resort to dialogue, gave prominence to statements and interviews of the Fatah opposition. **Al Quds** daily showed support for Yasir Arafat but did not ignore the news of military movements within the Palestinian forces.

National leaders appealed in front page opinions for an immediate halt to the bloodshed.

The Conspiracy

It will not be easy to continue to interpret the behaviour of Libya's Mu'ammar Qaddafi — perhaps we can best understand him if we consider him within the framework of an overall imperialist American strategy.

As for Syria, it is evident that Assad wants to do an encore; in 1976, Syria offered the blood of the Palestinian people as a sacrifice on the altar of the US, in the expectation of being rewarded with the Golan Heights. Assad is trying a repeat performance.

This will not be the first, or last conspiracy aimed against the Palestinians, as long as Arab nations continue falling under the sway of totalitarianism.

AL SHAAB
June 23

The Danger Line

There are two main considerations we have to ponder when reviewing the current conflict in the Lebanese Beqa'a.

Some of these are of a permanent nature. Others transient, or imponderable. Let's talk about the first.

Palestinian unity is of paramount importance. It must not be influenced by any external events since it is the only way Palestinian legitimate rights can be safeguarded.

The PLO must also remain the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — no deviation from this premise should be tolerated.

Thirdly, shedding the blood of a Palestinian brother must be taboo — all conflicts must be settled peacefully, by practising the art of gentle persuasion. Ideological differences can never justify blood-letting.

In its turn, the Arab world must keep from interfering in the internal affairs of the PLO — something that seems impossible now. If our sister Arab states cannot play a positive role in settling disputes, then they should at least refrain from making matters worse with their intervention.

AL QUDS
June 24

The Real Enemy

No matter what the legal justification, we do not believe any Arab regime can prevent the entry of Arab fighters to its lands. Even if the Syrian leaders had been aggrieved by the accusations launched against them by Yasir Arafat, the fact that Syria and the PLO share one trench should have been the main determinant in Syria's relations with the organisation and its heads, since they are the sole representatives of the Palestinian people.

We urge our compatriots here and in the occupied territories to be on their guard against the real enemy.

AL ITTIHAD
June 26

Israel: The Universal Beggar

American press reports about Israel's inability to pay back its debts, and the extent of US aid to it, lead to but one conclusion: Israel is a universal beggar; it is bankrupt and a cheat, to boot.

But the catalogue of accusations against Israel does not end there: this country is also acting the role of mercenary in the pay of the Americans, whose avowed aim is to combat Arab freedom movements and contain Soviet expansion.

Israel is blatantly lying when it claims it is waging war against the Arabs merely in self-defence; and the fight to bring down this government, with all its economic, political and military misdeeds, is a struggle in the service of peace, of Palestinians and Israelis, Jews and Arabs, seeking a new, secure dawn.

AL ITTIHAD
June 27

The American Shuttle

It was inevitable that Philip Habib would resume his shuttle visits to the Middle East, particularly at a time when the situation is so explosive here.

The Syrian regime has provided him with a golden opportunity to re-thread the noose around the neck of the Arab nation. But neither Habib nor (George) Shultz will ever succeed in mastering the intricacies of the weaving or threading process.

The Arab nations, who understand very well what lies behind all the American moves in the area, will see to that.

Meanwhile, Syria can go on claiming, as long as it wants, that it is a 'confrontation state' but that phrase is now meaningless, and a lie, laid bare by Syria's remorseless efforts to encircle the PLO and crush it.

The Arab masses can and will surmount all obstacles, and foil all conspiracies, in their long march ahead.

AL FAJR
June 28

Stop This Blood-letting

The latest bloody developments in the Beqa'a are another tragic milestone in the annals of the Palestinian people and will have serious repercussions on its destiny.

Brother is fighting brother — a phenomenon alien to our tradition and culture, denoting a cataclysmic metamorphosis that can only spell disaster for the Arab nation.

To disagree is nothing to be ashamed of — but to try and resolve differences by resorting to violence is an unpardonable crime.

As in all democratic societies, the instigators of the blood-letting spree should be identified and punished.

Our people have seen with their own eyes the blood of their children uselessly spilled — it is enough! This battered nation has suffered enough — it is time to put an end to its travails.

AL QUDS
June 29

An Urgent Call

Tens of Palestinians have either been killed or wounded in the Beqa'a — a cause for woe and lament.

We urge our brothers in the Beqa'a to reject the language of violence and bloodshed, and to resort to the democratic way of life in trying to resolve their differences.

We call on our fighters to comply with the wish of our national organisations — they are able to resolve all internal disputes.

History is remorselessly unmerciful — it will never forgive those who have sparked Palestinian infighting, and who have been instrumental in encouraging interference in Palestinian affairs.

We appeal to you, we urge you, we demand that you stop this debacle, for once we solve our differences and speak with one voice, there will be no place for even the eye of our enemies' gimlet.

AL SHAAB
June 29

Inquiry Demanded Into Zeeb Beach Attack

Meir Wilner, general secretary of the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah), demanded, on June 28, the formation of a committee of inquiry into the violent attack on Palestinian swimmers on the Zeeb public beach, north of Acre. Twenty-nine Palestinians are still in detention in Jalameh, Acre and Nahariya prisons in the aftermath of clashes which started as a personal brawl between a Kufr Yasif resident, Zuheir Elias, and an Israeli lifeguard, on June 26. The first incident ended when two Israeli policemen came and arrested Elias and his brother, with the lifeguard accompanying them to the local police station.

One hour later, after the conflict had ended, a large number of police and border guards rushed to the area and began arbitrarily beating and arresting the Arab swimmers and hurling teargas grenades. Forty Arabs were arrested and scores wounded.

The police claim that a brawl erupted between all the Arabs and Jews and that the police interfered to stop it.

Nathir Majali, news editor of Rakah daily *Al Ittihad* told *Al Fajr* that the police want to prevent Arabs from swimming at the public beach: "The fact that police beat people in several sections of the resort refutes the police claim that the incident occurred in one area."

Meir Wilner sent a telegramme to Yusef Burg, Israeli interior minister, demanding that those responsible for the attack be tried and punished. Wilner affirmed in his telegramme that the action cannot be explained except by understanding the racist tendency of Israeli policemen. Wilner protested against Israeli newspaper reports that had attempted to distort the facts of the incidents.

At the same time, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality contacted their Knesset members and urged them to work for the release of the prisoners. *Al Ittihad* reported that lawyers for the detained, Michael Daoud and Musbah Qabani, had observed signs of torture on the bodies of the detainees. Three women, all mothers, are also being held in jail. Adibah Elias suffered a cerebral fracture, Fayzeh Basel a broken arm, and Suhaila Basel a cerebral concussion. An atmosphere of anger and vexation swept the village of Kufr Yasif. The chairman of the village council of Kufr Yasif, Nimr Marqus, telegrammed the Israeli interior minister and demanded the immediate release of the prisoners. Murqus also asked for the formation of an inquiry committee to study the details of the incident.

Protest "Settlement" Evacuated Following Government Promise

Israeli inhabitants of the Kiryat Menahem neighbourhood agreed to evacuate their 5-day-old "settlement" in West Jerusalem June 23, erected to protest against the government's housing priorities, after the government promised to look into their complaints.

Thirty underprivileged Israeli Jewish families set up the temporary settlement on a hilltop outside their neighbourhood June 19, and announced that they plan to build new houses for themselves on the site, in an imitation of tactics used by the ultra-right *Gush Emunim* to set up settlements in the West Bank. The squatters, members of Shahak, a new social organisation concerned with neighbourhood development, erected nylon tents on the site, and announced that they would move only to new homes. Members of the group demanded that the Israeli government prepare the infrastructure on the site where they said they wanted to build their houses. They also demanded that the government give them the IS1 million in financial aid, the amount granted to settler families who move into settlements in the occupied territories.

Initially, Israeli police refrained from intervening with the squatters, apparently for fear that any clash might develop into larger scale demonstrations, similar to those which took place in Tel Aviv several months ago. But police did arrest David Ben Chetrit, 32, the chairman of the Shahak group, and held him for 48 hours. *Haaretz* Hebrew daily reported June 23 that the Israeli police agreed to release Ben Chetrit on the condition that the Shahak squatters evacuate the settlement.

Organisers of the protest said that one of its intentions was to raise consciousness within poorer neighbourhoods about government-subsidised settlement activity in the West Bank and Gaza. Directors of the movement, which is said to be affiliated with Peace Now, stress that the funneling of funds to settlement building in the occupied territories is being carried out at the expense of development and rehabilitation of poor Jewish neighbourhoods. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, June 22, the Jewish Agency's rehabilitation programme has been cut by $150 million. Shahak head Ben Chetrit, according to *The Jerusalem Post*, said the group is protesting the whole set of government priorities. Movement members pointed out the Begin government's settlement policy is affecting all spheres of life, including education and neighbourhood crime.

'Coop Day' to be Celebrated Privately

Cooperative societies in the West Bank will celebrate International Cooperative Day, July 2, on a private basis. Since the Israeli occupation in 1967, cooperative societies have not conducted any public celebrations on this occasion for fear that they would be halted by the authorities.

Adnan Obeidat, a cooperative consultant in the West Bank, told *Al Fajr* that over 21,000 families (about 17 percent of the population of the West Bank) are members in the various cooperatives. These include agriculture, housing, olive press, animal husbandry, plant, nursery, rural electrification, watersupply, higher education, school savings, health insurance, transportation, consumer and bakery cooperatives.

Cooperative members in the West Bank are hoping to be able to establish a research and training centre for cooperative members.

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CAWL

Q: Peace Now, whose supporters are from the Israeli right and left, refuses to sharpen its stand because it will lose numbers and therefore, they say, its effectiveness. What effect can CAWL have, in a larger way, unless you have numbers?

A: Today I think that the left's role is still in moving people to understand that it is necessary to take a clear stand and not back down. The peace forces include the small Israeli left, the Palestinian progressive forces, and objectively Syria and the Soviet Union. This is the line-up. In terms of affecting the situation, it is that total line-up which affects it, not the Israeli left or any other single element.

Q: If Israeli troops are withdrawn from Lebanon tomorrow, what are the other issues facing CAWL?

A: Our perspective is geared to a positive alternative to the policies of the government.

The role of the left in Israel hasn't changed so much over the past year. Our job is still the same one, it's still clearly explaining where all our true interests lie. The explanations also have to take the form of actions, and in this *Yesh Guul* is out front. A new peace coalition gives opportunities for more activities and organising more people.

I think we're ready to start on a cultural front — progressive film festivals, joint meetings of artists, who want to speak as artists. Begin has no support among them, they are all on our side but we need to develop it.

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Dheisheh

a direct result of the explosions. Everybody is convinced that the Israelis, by doing this, are trying to force the refugees to leave the camp. Dheisheh is one of the most active sites in the West Bank. On every anniversary in the history of the Palestinian people, there are demonstrations. The refugees are very patriotic about their camp and say that even if they had a chance to leave the camp, they would not do so. They feel very close to and united with all the West Bank people and see the PLO as their representative. They say all this without reservation.

Many of the residents have been arrested for varying periods. Currently, there are over 200 youths in prison, 100 of them for long periods.

Every night, uniformed people come and search the houses and arrest people. (They talk about this as if it is something normal.) Always at night. Between 12:00 am and dawn.

They don't want to be labelled "terrorists" by the Israelis. They admit that throwing stones will not help them in establishing their Palestinian state, but they add that this is the only way the children can express their national identity.

Two weeks ago, an Israeli bus passed by, like it does every day, on the main road. Someone stoned the bus.

The settlers left the bus and started coming inside the camp, shooting and throwing stones. The soldiers who came after a short time lobbed dozens of tear gas grenades and dispersed the gathering. After everything was quiet and the settlers had damaged a few cars, the residents thought that everything was over.

But they were mistaken. The next day at 8:00 pm buses full of soldiers, military vehicles and bulldozers arrived at the camp, and the soldiers started blocking the main entrance with concrete.

Residents nearby gave the agreed-upon sign, a strong whistle which is the sign for everyone to gather when something is happening. The residents of the camp came with stones, clubs or farm implements — anything they could find at home. New disturbances started, and again, the soldiers threw tear gas grenades. A young girl was seriously wounded and a curfew was imposed on Dheisheh.

Today the main road is blocked and in emergencies, such as a fire, an injury, or a delivery, there is no way for an ambulance or fire truck to enter the camp. The youth themselves have started to build a new road for cars.

The huge concrete blocks also blocked the sewage lines, and when we came to the camp the residents were busy opening a hole in the wall to enable the sewage to get out.

Bread and Tears

After the engaging conversation and after drinking the compulsory coffee, the youth took us on a tour of the camp. Children stared at us from everywhere. Some people were cultivating the small gardens next to their houses, and we even saw an old bathtub in which was planted some good-smelling mint. Many green trees of ripe berries lent a pleasant shade for the miserable houses of the refugee camp.

The camp, which is really a medium-sized city, holds 15,000 people. We didn't see one movie house or any other entertainment place for the many youths who live there.

The camp residents make their living in the camp itself, as labourers in Bethlehem, and despite everything, even in the Jewish settlements in the West Bank, which they refer to, with resignation, as "bread and tears".

The youth of the second generation refugees are not "primitive", as some have described them. They have a developed political awareness. They are well-informed about everything concerning the history of the Palestinian people, wherever they are. They read the papers daily, listen to the radio and know exactly what is happening. They are not naive at all; and their faith is stronger than any occupation and humiliation.

The story of Dheisheh is the story of the entire Palestinian people. The power in the refugee camp is almost latent, but it is great.

WEEKLY REVIEW

June 22, 1983

CHILD HIT

RAMALLAH — A child was injured by a car driven by an Israeli settler.

The child, Sufian Ali Hamad, was taken to the Ramallah state hospital by passersby. Doctors say his condition is stable.

LONG TERM SENTENCE

NABLUS — The Nablus military court has sentenced three Palestinians to prison terms ranging from 20 to 22 years, following their conviction on charges of having planted an explosive device in the Petah Tikva marketplace.

The men are Khader Mustafa Ramadan (sentenced to 20 years), Ali Tahseen Ramadan (22 years) and Rateb Mohammad Ramadan (22 years).

CITY TURNS MILITARY OUTPOST

HEBRON — One day after they partially eased the five-day-old curfew imposed on the centre of Hebron, the Israeli military authorities have begun extending their siege of the city.

Residents say Israeli troops have cordoned off larger areas of the commercial district, making access to them virtually impossible.

Derouted buses are cluttering up the streets, and disrupting public transportation. The town seems paralysed, with taxis only being allowed to ferry passengers or commuters.

The troops took over a large building in the centre of town and converted it to an observation tower.

SIEVE TIGHTENS

JERICHO — The Israeli frontier authorities are now confiscating all checks issued by Arab banks in Jordan.

They are also seizing checks written out in favour of West Bank money changers.

Travellers say the restrictions also apply to personal checks they carry.

The frontier authorities have notified travellers that no checks drawn on banks in Amman will be allowed into the West Bank.

VAT HITS

BEIT JALA — Beit Jala residents complain that they are being charged fantastically high tax bills, some ranging as high as IS 100,000,000, based on assessments that have no bearing on their income or profit.

TRAVEL FOR SOME

NABLUS — The Israeli military authorities have now lifted their restrictions on the movement of Nablus residents to Jordan across the Damia bridge.

The new regulations do not apply to residents of the Palestinian refugee camps in the district.

HELLO?

NABLUS—Nablus residents complain that they cannot call the continental US from the city, for the second week in a row.

1000 MORE GONE

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities have confiscated a total of 1,000 dunums of land from three West Bank Arab villages: Ras Karkar, Kharbatha and Kufr Na'meh.

Villagers said they have lodged a complaint with the military objections committee.

In Qattanah, near Ramallah, unidentified vandals uprooted several olive trees, and carted them away in trucks.

In 1979, the Israeli military government declared some 2500 dunums of land in Qattanah a restricted area.

ARRESTS

NAZARETH — Four members of Rakah (Israel Communist Party) in Sakhnin, in the Galilee, have been sentenced by a court in Acre on charges of unlawful assembly and conduct.

The four had participated in protest actions three years ago against the attempts to assassinate three West Bank mayors.

The men, Majed Abu Youness, Samih Tawil, 'Atef Tarbiyeh and Adel Tawil, were sentenced to six months in prison and were given a three-year suspended sentence.

They were also asked to pay a fine of IS 25,000 each.

HOTEL UNION

JERUSALEM — The Union of Hotel, Restaurant and Cafe Workers has had the water taps of its East Jerusalem headquarters turned back on, after two months.

Union spokesmen said the Israeli-run Jerusalem municipality had turned the taps off, for no apparent reason. The union has settled its water bill, they added.

Meanwhile, the union's administrative board has lodged a complaint with the management of the National Hotel against its dismissal of union members.

The National, an established landmark in East Jerusalem, had dismissed several employees recently, including Ibrahim Najm, a member of the union's administrative board.

Hebron taxi and bus station resumed activity the day the Israeli authorities partially lifted the curfew imposed two weeks ago./JN

June 23, 1983

CAN'T KEEP UP

JERUSALEM — Israel's Housing Ministry plans to build a further 2046 housing units in several Israeli settlements in the West Bank this year.

Last year the Ministry budgeted for 2495 new flats, but was able to finish construction work on only 1776.

The Ministry cannot implement the government's decisions on settlement, Israeli papers noted.

The Ariel settlement alone will have another 874 flats added to it.

JENIN'S TURN

JENIN — A squad of customs inspectors recently raided the offices of Jenin's leading merchants and artisans, carefully going through their books.

Wafa Mer'i, an engineer, was charged with an IS 60,000 VAT bill, a tax Palestinians consider illegally imposed by the Israeli occupation.

MEAT RISES

TULKARM — Residents complain that meat now sold in Tulkarm is more expensive than anywhere else in the occupied territories.

Prices of lamb have gone up twice during the current Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

OCCUPIED WATER

HEBRON — The Israeli Water Authority has restored water lines to the village of Dhahriyeh, near Hebron, after a two-week cut-off.

The local council has now pledged to settle its outstanding water bill within a three-week grace period.

PRISON STRIKE SPREADS

NAZARETH — The strike by Palestinian prisoners at the Neve Tertza women's jail has begun spreading.

Two weeks ago, Palestinian women working in the jail kitchen, declared a strike to protest their mistreatment by wardens and prison authorities.

The strike has now spread to include other prison work divisions: the Israeli Sassoon textile firm, and a plant owned by the giant electronics firm, Tadiran.

The inmates have begun a hunger strike.

Parents of the prisoners are holding a vigil in front of the Red Cross headquarters in Jerusalem to express their support.

20 YEARS FOR STONES?

HEBRON — Israeli settlers at the nearby Kiryat Arba settlement have threatened to take the law into their own hands, if the Israeli government does not take any action against Arab residents of Hebron.

The settlers are urging the government to impose harsher 'punishments' on the Arabs for allegedly anti-Israeli activities.

One of the ultra-right Gush munim leaders, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, called on the government to adopt an 'iron fist' policy in Hebron.

He also called for longer detention and harsher prison terms for stone-throwers.

Levinger said he would like o have stone-throwers sentenced to 20 years in jail.

June 24, 1983

SPAIN SOLID

AMMAN — Spain considers the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, was the message delivered in the Jordanian capital by the Spanish ambassador there.

The envoy stressed that Spain will not resume diplomatic ties with Israel so long as the latter does not recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian nation.

CROPS DESTROYED

JERUSALEM — Fire destroyed some 200 dunums (about 850 acres) of cultivated land in the West Bank villages of Khillat Ali, and al-Aqd, near Anabta.

Residents said 400 olive and hazelnut trees were destroyed.

Fire fighting units from Anabta managed to control the blaze, after a three hour struggle.

Residents are unable to determine how the fires started.

RELEASED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military authorities released Abdul Aziz Amin, a student from Bir Zeit University, detained over a fortnight ago.

Amin had been previously held in administrative detention for two years.

DISMISSAL PROTESTED

RAMALLAH — Bir Zeit University faculty members have lodged a protest against the dismissal of a colleague, Dr. Rami Abdul Hadi, Dean of the Faculty of Engineering.

Dr. Abdul Hadi, who was replaced by Dr. Abdul Latif Barghouthi, deputy president for academic affairs, and lecturer in Arab Literature was fired for his opposition to a decision by the university to hold examinations on the day originally scheduled for them.

June 25, 1983

LIBRARY OPENS

BETHLEHEM — In a brief ceremony attended by leading Muslim clergymen and representatives, the head of the Bethlehem Islamic Religious Trust (*waqf*), Sheikh 'Akrameh Sabri al-Tamimi, dedicated a new lending library to the "pursuit of knowledge, in the quest of the perpetuation of the nation, its progress and development".

POWs STAY PUT

JERUSALEM — Negotiations between Israel and the PLO over a prisoner exchange deal have bogged down in the wake of the new developments in the Lebanese Beqa'a.

Israeli sources said the talks have now reached a dead end.

MONEY CHANGERS HIT

GAZA — Israeli police and undercover agents have intensified their campaign against the city's money changers.

Dealing in foreign currencies is considered a contravention of Israeli financial laws, and is banned in Gaza. But despite the official taboo, there is an important black market in Jordanian dinars, US dollars and Egyptian pounds in Gaza, since no one saves in inflated Israeli currency.

Police have begun confiscating all foreign denomination notes caught in the possession of money changers, and imposing heavy fines on them.

CAR ARSON

BETHLEHEM — Unidentified arsonists set fire to a taxi parked behind Bethlehem's vegetable market.

Police arrived on the scene within minutes, cordoned off the area and imposed a curfew on the market place, while firemen fought the blaze.

They closed down several shops nearby and arrested a number of youths.

An investigation has been launched.

According to another newspaper report, the car burst into flame when an unidentified arsonist tossed a Molotov cocktail on it.

The car belonged to a resident of the Arab village of Beit Safafa, just off the Jerusalem-Bethlehem highway.

Police said a resident of the Palestinian refugee camp of Dheisheh, near Bethlehem, was injured as a result, and required hospitalisation.

CLOSED UNION

GAZA — The Federation of Labour Unions in Gaza has been enjoined not to accept any new members, without prior authorisation from the 'civil administration's' officer in charge of labour affairs

In a letter addressed to the federation's president, the unidentified officer also stressed that the 'civil administration' was empowered to send delegates or inspectors to attend union meetings, or examine union books.

He said the federation's application for permission to enroll new members was being studied.

June 26, 1983

KOENIG'S KNIFE

NAZARETH — The Kufr Yassif local council in the Galilee has asked the High Court to issue a decree forcing southern district Governor Israel Koenig to explain his refusal to ratify the council's annual budget, as submitted.

Koenig had pared the budget drastically - and the council charges that he is engaging in a political vendetta against them.

UNIVERSITY

JERUSALEM — Arab and Jewish students at Israel's Bar Ilan University launched an appeal seeking support for freedom of expression, and the right to education and housing on campus.

The students, belonging to the 'Arab-Jewish List', issued a statement stressing their belief in equality among Arabs and Jews.

Some 140 Arab students, from the Triangle, are studying at Bar Ilan - these students are prohibited from living in student dormitories, and no attempts are made to find alternate housing for them.

ISLAMIC U. REGULATIONS

Gaza — The employees union of Gaza's Islamic University has ratified the new basic regulations drawn up in the wake of recent disturbances.

At a meeting presided over by the university president, Dr Mohhammed Saqr, the union voted to approve the regulations.

Following ratification, the university board of trustees put their imprimatur on the new regulations.

It has been decided to hold new elections next Tuesday for the disputed employees union.

The 'Arab-Jewish List' denounced the Katzar committee report as discriminatory, aimed particularly at depriving Arab students of grants and reductions in tution fees.

CATTLE SHOOTERS

ACRE — Members of the 'Green Patrols', the police arm of Israel's Nature Reserves Authority, shot and killed tens of cattle belonging to a village (Akbarah) near Safad.

Residents said they have protested to the police against the Patrols' continued provocations. They charged that nearby kibbutzim and the Jewish Agency are opposed to the raising of cattle by the villagers.

They rejected allegations that the Green Patrols and border police had killed their cows because they had not been innoculated.

DEPORATATION?

JERUSALEM — Some 12,000 Palestinians have been given until July 10 to leave Libya, according to local reports.

RACISM

JERUSALEM — Racist remarks attributed to Israeli education inspector Batsheva Sherif, have evoked widespread protest among Arab residents of the West Bank and the Gaza strip.

She said Arabs had the right to live, but not to vote, and that they formed a fifth column in Israel.

Following her statement, Knesset members Mohammed Watid and Hamad Khalaylah demanded her immediate dismissal.

NURSING STUDENTS STRIKE

RAMALLAH — Students at al-Bireh's Arab Nursing College have declared a strike against a decision by the college board affecting a number of students currently studying at the Faculty of Science, at Abu Dis, a Jerusalem suburb.

The students are protesting the ambiguous status of 50 of their colleagues who have joined Abu Dis on a 'temporary basis'.

TITHES

NABLUS — The annual report of Nablus' Muslim Tithing Committee noted that it had paid a monthly stipend to 550 families and extended other financial aid to another 750.

It had also helped defray the tuition fees of some students and met the medical and hospitalisation bills of many of the city's poor.

The committee also actively backs self-help projects organised by charitable organisations, and buys the equipment needed (like spinning, weaving and sewing machines) to get such projects off the ground.

June 27, 1983

JUDAISING HEBRON

HEBRON — Israeli military authorities lifted the partial curfew imposed on the city of Hebron.

Israeli troops removed the barriers and barbed wire they had strung around the central part of town, and allowed Hebronites access to the central bus station.

Acting Mayor Mustafa Natshe said residents had appealed to the Supreme Court of Israel for an injunction against the military authorities, but the barriers were taken down before the court had a chance to issue a decision.

However, the Israeli army is still keeping a visible presence in town where troops have taken over a house and installed an observation post.

Meanwhile, *Gush Emunim* settlers from Kiryat Arba have begun circulating leaflets (printed in Arabic) to Hebronites, urging the dismissal of Natshe, and his replacement by a more moderate mayor.

They also put up sign posts round the bus station, purporting to change the name of the quarter from the Street of Martyrs to King David Street.

FORCED PRAYERS

JERUSALEM — An extremist Jewish group, calling itself 'The Temple Mount Faithful', plans to stage illegal 'prayers' at the Dome of the Rock, in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnessar some 2569 years ago.

According to Israeli press reports, the extremists will launch another attempt to break into the courtyard of the historic mosque, in protest against a police ban preventing them access to the Muslim holy site.

REVOLVING DOOR

JERUSALEM — Bir Zeit University student Qassem Izzat has been placed under six months house arrest at his home in Gaza.

The Israeli military authorities released 12 students; four attend Najah University in Nablus, and the other eight are *tawjihi* (secondary school matriculation examination) candidates, who have been unable to sit for their exams.

SHOT AND JAILED

JERUSALEM — The Ramallah military court has sentenced 16-year-old Jamal Hamamrah, from the village of Hussan, near Bethlehem, to three years in jail and given him another three-year suspended sentence.

Hamamrah was shot in the shoulder when Israeli troops dispersed a demonstration in April last year, and spent five months in hospital.

Two days after his release from hospital, he was arrested.

June 28, 1983

PRISON REPORT

JERUSALEM — A report prepared by the special 'Kant' committee, entrusted with the task of conducting a survey of life in Israel's jails, notes that the Israeli authorities are keeping prisoners in inhumane conditions.

Ramle, for instance, has 276 prisoners in overcrowded cells.

SUPER-SOL EXPLOSION

JERUSALEM — Two Israeli women were slightly injured when a bomb exploded in a Jewish supermarket, in the centre of West Jerusalem.

Police said the bomb had been concealed in a loaf of bread.

Police cordoned off the area, and arrested a number of Arabs.

PUNISHED BEFORE TRAIL

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities sealed the homes of six residents of the Arab village of Arrabeh, in the Jenin district.

The homes belong to a group of people who had been arrested recently on charges of lobbing Molotov cocktails at Israeli buses.

No date has been fixed for a trial in military court in Nablus yet.

The village has been under curfew since Monday night.

WATER CUTS

RAMALLAH — Several West Bank villages in the Ramallah district are complaining of gross negligence by the military-run water department which they claim has shown no interest in improving their precarious water supply situation.

MAPAM NERVOUS

JERUSALEM — Opposition Mapam leaders have urged Police and Interior Minister Yosef Burg to take immediate steps to prevent another break-in attempt by Jewish religious extremists at the Dome of the Rock.

BANK SETTLEMENTS

JERUSALEM — The Bank of Israel has given approval to plans for the establishment of 28 new branches of Israeli banks in West Bank towns during the current year.

There are some 1200 branches now operating in Israel and the occupied territories.

TETE-A-TETE

NABLUS — The military governor of Nablus is accomodating several recent requests of the city's Chamber of Commerce:

The chamber was granted a request for extensions of travel and export permits.

The military governor promised to have the metal gates placed at the entrances to the Qasbeh removed "in due course," and the military government's ban on the import of checks and checkbooks from abroad, particularly Jordan, was discussed.

LAND GRABBED

HEBRON — Leaders of the Shreiteh Arab tribe of Yatta, near Hebron, have protested to the military objections committee against the designation of village lands as state-owned.

Residents claim that they were not notified of the confiscation until two weeks ago, when the Israeli government gave the go-ahead for the establishment of a settlement, 'Sussia', on village-owned land.

DHEISHEH: THE BATTLEFIELD

by Anat Saragusti
HaOlam Hazeh **June 15, 1983**

The border policeman stood with his back toward the main road. He was tall, with a green hat stuck on his head and a machine-gun gripped strongly in his right hand. Before him, in a place which was until recently the main entrance to the Dheisheh refugee camp, stood a huge concrete wall, and local workers were busy digging a hole in the wall to let the sewage out.

Dheisheh is a refugee camp on the Jerusalem-Hebron road, a few kilometres from the southern entrance to Bethlehem. From time to time we hear on the news the following items: "A curfew was imposed on Dheisheh refugee camp, next to Bethlehem," or "An Israeli bus was stoned today near Dheisheh refugee camp." For months now — one day of curfew, two days off; two weeks of curfew, one off.

A few days ago, an Israeli bus with settlers was stoned. The settlers shot, stoned back, the Israeli army entered to restore order, and a young girl was seriously wounded and taken to the hospital. The next day, the Israeli military authorities decided to close the main entrance which leads from the camp to the main road. This measure was taken to prevent the stoning of Israeli cars and as a punishment to the residents of the camp.

On the way to Dheisheh it is possible to see the camp from a distance. After driving a few kilometres on the southern road from Jerusalem with the beautiful stone houses of Bethlehem on both sides of the road, suddenly we came upon a crowded group of tiny concrete houses.

A border police command car stood at the entrance to the camp. The soldiers who saw us stopping came toward us with severe expressions on their faces. They asked us who we were, and after we told them we were journalists, they said, "Just a minute. It is forbidden to take pictures or to enter the camp before getting permission from the commander." First they said, "No." They didn't explain that "No." Finally, the permission was given, but with one slight reservation: "Don't take pictures of our forces." In order to enter the camp, it is necessary to twist through a narrow path between the walls of the houses. The main road was blocked.

Two Years For Raising a Flag

On the main street we met the youths *(shabab)* who almost jumped on Uri Avneri from joy when they first saw him. Maybe we were the only Israelis to have entered the camp besides the uniformed people who constantly stroll around there. The youths surrounded us from every side and many others, including children, gathered around us.

Thirty percent of the people in Dheisheh are children, and maybe they are the secret weapon of the camp. They are the heroes — they are the ones who stone, who organise demonstrations, and who get killed when demonstrations are dispersed. These children are the third generation in the refugee camp to learn what identity is and what national unity is, what a refugee camp is and what a military regime is. All this, they learn the hard way.

The alleys of the camp are not made from asphalt, as in the towns, but from a grey concrete. Dheisheh doesn't belong to any city and has no municipality. There is a mukhtar, who the residents of the camp think is planted by the Israeli military authorities. The residents themselves take care of the public places. Those who built the concrete slums also put in the sewage lines. The streets are clean.

Under a fig tree a group of young men sat playing *shesh besh* (backgammon). Two old women in traditional dress sat beside a small shop and looked at us with curiosity. A normal day in Dheisheh.

The *shabab* led us inside the camp via narrow alleys. From time to time they sent away the children who followed us. More children appeared from every corner.

Main entrance to Dheisheh camp, sealed by Israeli mititary/JN

We entered the youth club, not a big room, in the middle of which was a dusty ping-pong table, the net thrown on the floor, two paddles on the table, and many chairs around it. We sat with 12 young men, aged 17-20 years old.

Residents dug holes in walls to allow for sewage passage/JN

The walls were empty except for a calendar issued by the Youth Committee for Social Work. On the top of the calendar were pictures of four West Bank men who were killed by Israeli forces during the dispersal of a demonstration. Here, these young men are called, with admiration, martyrs.

The door opened again and a slightly shy young man entered the room. One of the young men who was sitting with us, who sat facing the door, looked at the newcomer with his wide-opened black eyes, as if he didn't believe who he saw. After a while, he stood with a wide smile on his face, went to the newcomer, and started hugging and kissing him, as if after a long separation. In fact, the two men had not seen each other for a long time. The young man who entered the room had been freed recently from two years imprisonment. His crime — raising a Palestinian flag and writing slogans. There in the dusty room, Yousef Abu Laban started telling us the story of Dheisheh, a minor story which symbolises the greater story of the Palestinian people.

The Dheisheh people are refugees who came from 40 different villages which existed in the Latrun area. They came from villages which do not exist anymore, from villages where new Jewish settlements are built on their ruins.

In 1948, 20,000 people came to the site, which was totally empty, stoney land. UNRWA gave the refugees tents and later on, small rooms, six metres square, for every family. The residents of the camp did not forget the blooming villages which they had left, and immediately after their arrival to the camp, planted many fruit trees. Today it is possible to see in every corner, a blooming berry or fig tree. They also farmed some land around the settled area.

In 1952, the first victim was shot in Dheisheh during an Israeli army reprisal action; and they still remember his name.

Bread and Water for the Soldiers

Life under the Jordanians was not an Eden either. The youth call Hussein's rule the "fascist rule". In the mid-'50s there were angry demonstrations because of Hussein's intentions to join the Baghdad Pact — a pro-American and pro-British pact — which was resisted by all of the Arab nationalists. During the demonstration dispersals, three residents from the camp were killed.

Abu Laban talked with enthusiasm, relating all the details as if he had been there during the events. He knows very well the history of the Palestinian people.

During the conversation, many kids were outside the club. Some of them threw stones at the windows. The youths inside explained, with smiles on their faces, that the kids had learned not to love every stranger who came to the camp.

In 1956, around the time of the Sinai War, an Israeli reprisal action took place in the neighbouring village of Husan. In this operation, the local police station was destroyed by Unit 101 (commanded by Ariel Sharon — Tr. note), and one person from Dheisheh was killed.

In 1967, during the Six Day War, the residents of the camp sat and listened to Ahmad Said (Voice of the Arabs broadcaster) who talked about the victory of the Arab forces and promised that in a few days all the Jews would be thrown into the sea. Later on, Israeli forces were at the entrance of the camp. The residents were busy during the war helping the Jordanian army, and the children — Yousef Abu Laban was then 10 years old — carried water jars on their heads for the soldiers. Naively they thought that the tank lines belonged to the Arab armies who, according to the rumours, came to help the Jordanian army in their war against Israel. And thus, the Israeli army was received with water and bread.

For two years the camp was "quiet". In 1969, a bomb was thrown by a Fatah unit at an Israeli military vehicle near the camp, and in a few hours, Israeli bulldozers with heavy equipment destroyed three houses. Later on, this scene became familiar in the camp. The yard where the three houses had stood is today a playground for the children of Dheisheh.

The youth around the table listened quietly to the history. The only noise came from the children outside. After half an hour, a young man brought in a big tray of cold drinks.

Always at Night

Yousef Abu Laban continued to talk, from time to time using his hands. He is well-informed about politics and about all the internal politics and various factions of the PLO, no less than he knows about the history of the Palestinians. He doesn't shout. He talks quietly and with dignity. One can detect no hatred in his voice.

Next to the camp there is a quarry which belongs to an Arab collaborator and a Jew. The youth told us that the quarry causes a lot of real suffering. The camp is covered constantly with a huge dust cloud which causes breathing difficulties for all of them. They told us that every day at noon there is an explosion in the quarry and stones fly into the camp. Most of the houses are cracked as

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